National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

From The New York Express.

WE see by THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD of this week that the New England Abolitionists and their allies elsewhere are making extensive arrangements for their anniversary meeting, next month, in this city. Garrison, Phillips & Co. feel jubilant over the accomplishment, at length, of the hitherto grand object of all their agitation and all their labor, these many years past—the disruption of the American Union—and hence, the natural desire is to give more *eclat* than ever to their annual conference. They feel that they have won a victory, and that the victory should be properly celebrated. It must not be supposed, however, that the exertions of these pestilent fanatics are to cease, with the downfall of the Republic, simply. They have other ends in view. One of these is the stirring up of servile insurrections in the South, and the conversion of the cotton States into another St. Domingo. They do not, indeed, avow this infernal purpose in so many words—but their programme, in substance and in spirit, contemplates nothing else. According to their printed circular, now before us, the object of the Society is still—as at its formation—"*the immediate and total abolition of slavery wherever existing on the American soil;*" and that—

> "Whether the American Union, therefore, be dissolved or not, *so long as a single slave is left in his fetters, this society will still have its work unfinished*, and will still deserve the countenance and aid of all believers in the inalienable rights of man—of all who 'despise fraud, and loath rapine, and abhor blood, and who reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man.' Four millions yet remain to be delivered from the galling yoke of a worse than brutal servitude."

The agitation is thus to be eternal. We do not suppose it would stop, even if the independence of the cotton States were recognized to-day. As a foreign power, with whom we may have treaties, the war against those States is to go on just as before. There is to be no peace for them or for us, in short, as long as a slave treads the soil of the North American continent. Whatever else is dark and dubious in our country's future, this much, at least, would seem to be certain.

The day is gone by when we can denounce, with any sort of heart, the infamous schemes of these wicked agitators. Indeed, when we see demagogues, quite as bad as they ever dared to be, appointed to places of responsibility and power and trust, by the administration of Mr. Lincoln, we can scarcely help feeling a sort of respect for them—at least for their disinterestedness—for while Garrison and Phillips are pursuing the work of treason, simply in deference to the fanatical enthusiasm of their natures, the other description of Abolitionists whom Mr. Lincoln has honored have embarked in the business solely for the sake of public plunder.

ANARCHICAL TENDENCIES.

From The New York Express.

IT is a mistake to suppose that the anti-slavery agitators contemplate retiring from business, when "freedom for the negro" everywhere is achieved. When they have plunged the country into a civil war, broken up the government, destroyed the Union, paralyzed all the great business interests of the country, and degraded a once prosperous and powerful nation down to the level of some St. Domingo, Mexico, or South American Republic, depend upon it, some other so-called "reforms" of an equally radical and destructive character, in the name of "Humanity," will be started. The negro "ism" is but one of the articles in their creed—the article which "pays" best, just at present, to put forward. As soon as we get fairly rid of the slave States, however, there is scarcely a doubt but that such Abolitionists as those who control *The Tribune* (to whose editor Mr. Lincoln is said to be indebted for his nomination), will be seeking to thrust upon us once more, some of the large assortment of "isms" which were started years ago, such as

Fourierism,
Socialism,
Red Republicanism,
Anti-Rentism,
Free Loveism,
Maine Lawism,
Anti-Hanging,
Woman's Rights,
Spirit Rappings, etc.

It is to be noted, that the great gun of the Abolitionists, the coming anniversary week—Wendell Phillips—is to be the great gun also of the Woman's Righters. Anti-slavery is thus in the same boat with the strong-minded women, whose aim is social anarchy, as the aim of the former is political anarchy. These male and female "friends of humanity" are as little content with the social system, as it is, as they are with the Union as it is; and hence, working together in common sympathy, they agitate for the destruction of both alike. Egotism, self-love and supreme conceit are the distinguishing characteristics of these quacks. They have got it into their heads that Providence has created them for a "mission" and that the mission is, to turn the world upside down. Hence their contempt for law and authority; their sneers at the Scriptures; their denunciation of Christian ministers; their shocking profanity; their disrespect for religion, and general tendencies towards the worst types of infidelity.

THE BEAUTIES AND BENEFITS OF SLAVERY.

* * * WE [the slave Confederacy] shall be a benefit to all the nations of the earth and to ourselves. The radical element [the North] which hung as a weight to impede our progress, we have cut off and left. We shall have the greatest improvement of our race, and constitute the most elegant society on earth. They call us aristocrats. *'Tis false!* But there is an ease and suavity of manner which characterizes Southern men wherever found on earth. We shall have society that will charm the world by its elegance—all our white population educated and intelligent, with peace and plenty smiling over our happy land.

Not only shall all the civilized world be benefited immeasurably by our trade, intercourse and example, but the African will receive the largest benefit among us. *Our example, our progress and good government, will carry conviction to the whole world that slavery is right. Five years will not have rolled around before the Northern people will consent for slavery to go to the Canada line, if by it they could get us back into the Union.* They do not understand this matter. Let us, by our example, brush away the clouds of ignorance which now so befog them. They will soon find it to their interest to protect the right of slave property to all. I believe that slavery is right, and that, if left to its own course, the world will be convinced of this truth. Its rectitude is undeniable, and its duration is that of human want. As long as men must be fed and clothed, negroes must be slaves. These are truths that are of God's decree, and will stand as long as time endures. Slavery will ultimately be its own logic to the mind, its own power in the earth, and its own bayonet to its foes. This day will come. It may be delayed by wars or commotions, but it will come.

I said we should benefit the African. See him in his native state! abject—his mind dark—no hope beyond the grave—and his habits bestial. Here, with the superior props of the white man's intelligence, he is in his best condition in life. Poor and inferior in intellect, he is the especial beneficiary of his own bondage. He is fed and clothed, and has no care for his earthly wants. He knows his bread is sure—though scarcity and hard times prevail in the land. He knows that when he gets old and unable to work, his master must still feed him. He knows that when he dies, his children after him will be fed and clothed from his master's bounty. How different from the savages of Africa! How different from the free negroes of the North—free in theory, but slaves, in fact, to abject want and vice of every description—who do not know one day where their food for the next is to come from; and who have no master to remove their tatters and put good clothing on their backs!

I was born near a negro cabin. I was brought up among negroes, and I have worked beside them in the field day after day, and year after year. Often with them, in the night, I have hunted the wily racoon and the greedy opossum. I never knew one wander so far away in the darkness and gloom of distant and unknown forests, but what he could find his way home, if he could lift his eyes to the blue vault of heaven and see the "Seven Stars."

Long has the negro wandered in darkness, the outcast of the earth! May not these SEVEN STARS composing our bright constellation safely guide him from his native darkness to the most glorious light his mind is capable of enjoying and improving?—*Speech of Hon. B. H. Hill of Georgia.*

Selections.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS IN RUSSIA.

MANIFESTO OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR.

BY the grace of God, we, Alexander II., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, King of Poland, Grand Duke of Finland, etc., to all our faithful subjects make known:

Called by Divine Providence and by the sacred right of inheritance to the throne of our ancestors, we took a vow in our innermost heart so to respond to the mission which is intrusted to us as to surround with our affection and our Imperial solicitude all our faithful subjects of every rank and of every condition, from the warrior who nobly bears arms for the defence of the country to the humble artizan devoted to the works of industry; from the official in the career of the high offices of the State to the laborer whose plough furrows the soil.

In considering the various classes and conditions of which the State is composed, we came to the conviction that the legislation of the Empire, having wisely provided for the organization of the upper and middle classes, and having defined with precision their obligations, their rights and their privileges, has not attained the same degree of efficiency as regards the peasants attached to the soil (*krepostnye*), thus designated because, either from ancient laws or from custom, they have been hereditarily subjected to the authority of the proprietors, on whom it was incumbent at the same time to provide for their welfare. The rights of the proprietors have been hitherto very extended and very imperfectly defined by the law, which has been supplied by tradition, custom, and the good pleasure of the proprietors. In the most favorable cases this state of things has established patriarchal relations founded upon a solicitude sincerely equitable and benevolent on the part of the proprietors, and on an affectionate submission on the part of the peasants; but in proportion as the simplicity of morals diminished, as the diversity of mutual relations became complicated, as the paternal character of the relations between the proprietors and the peasants became weakened, and, moreover, as the seigneurial authority fell sometimes into hands exclusively occupied with their personal interests, those bonds of mutual good will slackened, and a wide opening was made for an arbitrary sway which weighed upon the peasants, was unfavorable to their welfare, and made them indifferent to all progress under the conditions of their existence.

These facts had already attracted the notice of our predecessors of glorious memory, and they had taken measures for improving the condition of the peasants; but among those measures some were not stringent enough, insomuch as they remained subordinate to the spontaneous initiative of such proprietors who showed themselves animated with liberal intentions; and others, called forth by peculiar circumstances, have been restricted to certain localities or simply adopted as an experiment. It was thus that Alexander I. published the regulation for the free cultivators, and that the late Emperor Nicholas, our beloved father, promulgated that one which concerns the peasants bound by contract. In the Western governments regulations called *inventaires* had fixed the territorial allotments due to the peasants, as well as the amount of their rent dues; but all these reforms have only been applied in a very restricted manner.

We thus came to the conviction that the work of a serious improvement of the condition of the peasants was a sacred inheritance bequeathed to us by our ancestors—a mission which, in the course of events, Divine Providence called upon us to fulfil.

We have commenced this work by an expression of our Imperial confidence towards the nobility of Russia, which has given us so many proofs of its devotion to the throne and of its constant readiness to make sacrifices for the welfare of the country.

These propositions having been found very diverse, as was to be expected from the nature of the question, they have been compared, collated, and reduced to a regular system, then rectified and completed in the superior committee instituted for that purpose; and these new dispositions thus formulated relative to the peasants and domestics (*dvorovye*) of the proprietors have been examined in the Council of the Empire.

Having invoked the Divine assistance, we have resolved to carry this work into execution.

In virtue of the new dispositions above mentioned, the peasants attached to the soil (*attaches a la glebe*) will be invested, within a term fixed by the law, with all the rights of free cultivation.

The proprietors retaining their rights of property on all the land belonging to them, grant to the peasants for a fixed regulated rental the full enjoyment of their close (*enclos*); and, moreover, to assure their livelihood and to guarantee the fulfilment of their obligations towards the government, the quantity of arable land is fixed by the said dispositions, as well as other rural appurtenances (*ougodie*).

But, in the enjoyment of these territorial allotments, the peasants are obliged, in return, to acquit the rentals fixed by the same dispositions to the profit of the proprietors. In this state, which must be a transitory one, the peasants shall be designated as "temporarily bound" (*temporairement obliges*).

At the same time they are granted the right of purchasing their close (*enclos*), and, with the consent of the proprietors, they may acquire in full property the arable lands and other appurtenances which are allotted to them as a permanent holding (*jouissance*). By the acquisition in full property of the quantity of land fixed the peasants are free from their obligations towards the proprietors for land thus purchased, and they enter definitively into the condition of free peasants—landholders (*paysans libres—proprietaires*).

By a special disposition concerning the domestics (*gens de la domesticité—dvorovye*) a transitory state is fixed for them, adapted to their occupations and the exigencies of their position. On the expiration of a term of two years, dating from the day of the promulgation of these dispositions, they shall receive their full enfranchisement and some temporary immunities.

It is according to these fundamental principles that the dispositions have been formulated which define the future organization of the peasants and of the domestics (*dvorovye*), which establish the order of the general administration of this class, and specify in all their details the rights given to the peasants and to the domestics, as well as the obligations imposed upon them towards the government and towards the proprietors.

Although these dispositions, general as well as local, and the special supplementary rules for some particular localities, for the lands of small proprietors, and for the peasants who work in the manufactories and establishments (*usines*) of the proprietors, have been, as far as was possible, adapted to economical necessities and local customs, nevertheless, to preserve the existing state where it presents reciprocal advantages, we leave it to the proprietors to come to amicable terms with the peasants and to conclude transactions relative to the extent of the territorial allotment and to the amount of rental to be fixed in consequence, observing at the same time the established rules to guarantee the inviolability of such agreements.

As the new organization, in consequence of the inevitable complexity of the changes which it necessitates, cannot be immediately put into execution; as a lapse of time is necessary, which cannot be less than two years or thereabouts, to avoid all misunderstanding and to protect public and private interests during this interval, the system (*regime*) actually existing on the properties of landowners (*seigneurs*) will be maintained up to the moment when a new system shall have been instituted by the completion of the required preparatory measures.

For which end we have deemed it advisable to ordain:

1. To establish in each district (*gouvernement*) a special court for the question of the peasants; it will have to investigate the affairs of the rural communes established on the land of the lords of the soil (*seigneurs*).

2. To appoint in each district justices of the peace to investigate on the spot all misunderstandings and disputes which may arise on the occasion of the introduction of the new regulation, and to form district assemblies with these justices of the peace.

3. To organize in the seigneurial properties communal administrations, and to this end to leave the rural communes in their actual composition, and to open in the large villages district administrations (provincial boards) by uniting the small communes under one of these district administrations.

4. To formulate, verify, and confirm in each rural district or estate a charter of rules (*un charte reglementaire—custavnaia gramota*), in which shall be enumerated, on the basis of the local statute, the amount of land reserved to the peasants in permanent enjoyment, and the extent of the charges which may be exacted from them for the benefit of the proprietor as well for the land as for other advantages granted by him.

5. To put these charters of rules into execution as they are gradually confirmed in each estate, and to introduce their definitive execution within the term of two years, dating from the day of publication of the present manifesto.

6. Up to the expiration of this term, the peasants and domestics (*gens de la domesticité*) are to remain in the same obedience towards their proprietors, and to fulfil their former obligations without scruple.

7. The proprietors will continue to watch over the maintenance of order on their estates, with the right of jurisdiction and of police, until the organization of the districts (*volosti*) and of the district tribunals has been effected.

Aware of all the difficulties of the reform we have undertaken, we place above all things our confidence in the goodness of Divine Providence, who watches over the destinies of Russia.

We also count upon the generous devotion of our faithful nobility, and we are happy to testify to that body the gratitude it has deserved from us, as well as from the country, for the disinterested support it has given to the accomplishment of our designs. Russia will not forget that the nobility, acting solely upon its respect for the dignity of man and its love for its neighbor, has spontaneously renounced rights given to it by serfdom actually abolished, and laid the foundation of a new future, which is thrown open to the peasants. We also entertain the firm hope that it will also nobly exert its ulterior efforts to carry out the new regulation by maintaining good order, in a spirit of peace and benevolence, and that each proprietor will complete, within the limits of his property, the great civic act accomplished by the whole body by organizing the existence of the peasants domiciliated on his estates, and of his domestics, under mutual advantageous conditions, thereby giving to the country population the example of a faithful and conscientious execution of the regulations of the State.

The numerous examples of the generous solicitude of the proprietors for the welfare of their peasants, and of the gratitude of the latter for the benevolent solicitude of their lords, give us the hope that a mutual understanding will settle the majority of complications, in some cases inevitable, in the partial application of general rules to the different conditions under which isolated estates are placed; that in this manner the transition from the ancient order of things to the new will be facilitated; and that the future will strengthen definitely mutual confidence, a good understanding, and the unanimous impulsion towards public utility.

To render the transactions between the proprietors and the peasants more easy, in virtue of which the latter may acquire in full property their close (*enclos*, homestead) and the land they occupy, the government will advance assistance according to a special regulation, by means of loans or a transfer of debts encumbering an estate.

We thus confidently rely upon the upright feeling of the nation.

When the first news of this great reform, meditated by the government, became diffused among the rural population, who were scarcely prepared for it, it gave rise in some instances to misunderstandings among individuals more intent upon liberty than mindful of the duties which it imposes. But, generally, the good sense of the country has not been wanting. It has not misunderstood either the inspirations of natural reason, which says that every man who accepts freely the benefits of society, owes it in return the fulfilment of certain positive obligations; nor the teachings of the Christian law, which enjoins that "every one be subject unto the higher powers" (St. Paul to the Romans, xiii. 1); and to "render to all their dues," and, above all, to whomsoever it belongs, tribute, custom, respect and honor (ibid, 7 v.). It has understood that the proprietors would not be deprived of rights legally acquired, except for a fit and sufficient indemnity, or by a voluntary concession on their part; that it would be contrary to all equity to accept this enjoyment of the lands conceded by the proprietors without accepting also towards them equivalent charges.

And now we hope with confidence that the freed serfs, in the presence of the new future which is opened before them, will appreciate and recognize the considerable sacrifices which the nobility have made on their behalf. They will understand that the blessing of an existence, supported upon the base of guaranteed property, as well as a greater liberty in the administration of their goods, entails upon them, with new duties towards society and themselves, the obligation of justifying the protecting designs of the law by a loyal and judicious use of the rights which are now accorded to them. For if men do not labor themselves to insure their own well-being under the shield of the laws, the best of those laws cannot guarantee it to them.

It is only by assiduous labor, a rational employment of their strength and their resources, a strict economy, and, above all, by an honest life, a life constantly inspired by the fear of the Lord, that they can arrive at prosperity and insure its development.

The authorities entrusted with the duty of preparing by preliminary measures the execution of the new organization, and of presiding at its inauguration, will have to see that this work is accomplished with calmness and regularity, taking into account the requirements of the seasons, in order that the cultivator may not be drawn away from his agricultural labors. Let him apply himself with zeal to those labors, that he may be able to draw from an abundant granary the seed which he has to confide to that land which will be given him for permanent enjoyment, or which he has acquired for himself as his own property.

And now, pious and faithful people, make upon thy forehead the sacred sign of the cross, and join thy prayers to ours to call down the blessing of the Most High upon thy first free labors, the sure pledge of thy personal well-being, and of the public prosperity.

Given at St. Petersburg the 19th day of February (March 3) of the year of grace 1861, and the seventh of our reign.

ALEXANDER.

LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR ANNOUNCING THE RESCRIPT.

The *Journal de Saint Petersburg* of March 7 publishes the following rescript addressed by the Emperor Alexander to his brother, his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Constantine Nicolaievitch:

IMPERIAL HIGHNESS: I have signed to-day the manifesto which concedes to the peasants of the nobles the rights of free cultivators, and I have sanctioned the general and local regulations, as well as those concerning the peasants and domestic serfs freed from the glebe—measures that had been previously examined under your presidentship, in the superior committee appointed to examine the question of the peasantry, and then submitted to the deliberations of the Council of the Empire.

On this very day, so memorable for Russia, the impulse of my heart and the feeling of duty make me desirous of expressing to you my most earnest and profound gratitude for the exactitude, dispatch, and perfect conformity with my views and expectations with which this important affair of state has been brought to a conclusion. Since the 15th of July, 1857, the day on which you were called on to form part of the committee created for the projected reform, you have incessantly taken the most active part in all my labors; and when, after the completion, in the month of October, 1860, of the labors of the subordinate committees, I convoked the superior committee for the examination of the projects presented by them, I charged, through the particular confidence I reposed in you, your Highness to preside over that committee. You have fully justified that confidence. After having attentively and deeply studied everything that bore on the important and various questions necessarily raised by the scrutiny of the measures already projected, or of those that might assist in the perfecting of them, in your ardent zeal for the public good you have consecrated every day your efforts, the whole of your time, to the labors of the superior committee. Also, thanks to you particularly, for the detailed examination in all its parts of this vast work, the correction and completion of the projects, the solution of all the uncertainties that arose pending this work; lastly, the drawing up of several new regulations have been finished within the period decreed by me.

I invite your Highness to express my sincere gratitude to the members of the superior committee charged with the settlement of the question of the peasants, for the proof they have given of indefatigable and meritorious activity. I shall not forget the manner in which your Imperial Highness and all the members of the superior committee have acted on this important occasion, and, with myself, all Russia will preserve the remembrance of it beyond a doubt. The future is known to God alone, and the final success of the great work undertaken depends on his holy will, always merciful. Nevertheless, from this time henceforth, we can say to ourselves, with a tranquil conscience, that we have employed for the accomplishment of this work every means in our power, and we can hope humbly that Providence, who protects our well-beloved country, will bless the accomplishment of our designs, the purity of which is known to it.

In sanctioning the projects relating to the emancipation of the peasants and domestic serfs, also to the settlement of their condition for the future, I have deemed it indispensable to take measures at the same time for the organization of the entire rural class upon general and uniform bases. With this object I create a special committee, under my immediate direction, of which I name you a member in according to you the presidency. I have the conviction that, when acquainted with my views and wishes in this matter, you will actively undertake, with your usual zeal, that nothing can diminish, the labors of this fresh work, so intimately connected with the one already terminated. I remain ever, your cordially affectionate and grateful,

ALEXANDER.

St. Petersburg, Feb. 19.

OLD-FASHIONED ABOLITIONISM.

[A friend has placed in our hands a bound volume of *The Evangelical Witness*, a monthly periodical, published nearly forty years ago, at Newburgh, in this State, and edited by the Rev. JAMES R. WILLSON, an eminent minister of the Covenanter Church. As a specimen of the genuine abolitionism of that day ([illegible]), we copy the following article, written, no doubt, by the editor. What a contrast between this clear denunciation of slavery as a sin and the pro-slavery deliverances of Van Dyke, Hodge, Adams, Seabury, etc., the present "evangelical" body-guard of the slave system!]

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE stain upon our national character is annually becoming more dark, and its impolitic, cruel and immoral nature is constantly developing itself in the detestable course pursued by its advocates and friends. South Carolina stands preëminent among her sister States in an odious policy, in reference to the sable and unfortunate sons of Africa. By her Constitution, Art. 1st, Sec. 6th, she requires, among other qualifications, as indispensable, that each of her representatives be the owner of, at least, "ten negroes"! No matter how devoted to the liberties of his country he may be; no matter how moral he may be; no matter how wealthy he may be; no matter how enlightened and enlarged his political views may be; he can have no place in her legislative counsels, unless he shall hold in slavery ten human beings, ten immortal spirits, as free by the laws of Heaven as himself!

In the spirit of this constitutional provision an act was passed by the Legislature of that State, last winter, making it the duty of the Executive to seize every free negro or person of color, arriving at any port of that commonwealth in any vessel of any foreign power, or other State; and to imprison, and sell into absolute slavery such person, without trial, without appeal, and without hope of release; the free men of color in the marine service of our own national vessels not excepted. Thus at once dissolving the Federal compact which binds our States in union, declaring and making war upon these States, and upon every other nation, in whose maritime transactions with that State free persons of color are employed. This law has already produced serious inconveniences in several instances. It has called forth remonstrances with the general Government, from the ministers of foreign States, as a wanton infraction of existing treaties; and, in August last, being brought before Judge Johnson of the Supreme Court of the United States, elicited a spirited and enlightened opinion, demonstrating its unconstitutionality, its injustice, and withal its folly. To *prevent* the intercourse of enlightened negroes with their slaves, let not such negroes be banished, but *sell* them, *retain* them, and *associate* them with the South Carolina slaves! It really seems that slavery produces fatuity of intellect, as well as callousness of the moral sense, in those who practise it.

We notice this law, not for the purpose of holding up to scorn the State of South Carolina, however well it may have merited that scorn; but for the purpose of inviting to the subject of slavery the serious attention of that portion of the community who may be disposed to contemplate, in such incipient follies of States, and outrages upon the very forms as well as the spirit of justice, the tendency of this abominable traffic in human flesh, and bones, and blood, and souls, to embroil and degrade, if not ultimately to ruin, our beloved and otherwise happy country. We are alarmed, indeed, when we consider the unblushing front with which Missouri contended for the right of holding slaves, and the still more daring proposal in Illinois to violate a solemn compact with the United States, by becoming a slave State. Should the people of that new commonwealth be so infatuated as to dare to blot their Constitution with the assertion of the immoral and degrading claim of slavery, as a right, it is devoutly hoped there will be virtue enough found in the Northern and middle States to enforce, at the point of the bayonet, if necessary, the fulfilment of the solemn compact of 1787, by which the people of that region are forever incapacitated to introduce slavery.

While we express this hope, we have not forgotten that those Northern and middle States are themselves deeply involved with their Southern slaveholding brethren in this lamentable business. For the paltry right of a Senatorial representation, equal to that of the larger States, the people of the little Northern States admitted into their Federal compact the *principle* and the practice of slavery; giving as a boon to the slave districts the grant, which raises *three* slaveholders to an equality with *five* Northern *free* men! The hope which we have expressed above is indeed much enfeebled, when we recollect that the oath of every member of Congress, whether from North or South, binds him for the time to support both the principle and practice of slavery.

We regret that no liberal, sincere and efficient plan is proposed and urged by any distinguished statesman in our country to prepare the way for the emancipation of the millions of our slave population. We rarely hear the evil whispered, as a national crime and public plague, except for some factious or party purpose; or when we hear of some deed of blood, to the commission of which a system of injury has goaded on the unhappy and misguided wretch, whom a system of legalized injustice has brutified. To the immorality and degrading effects of the system, we greatly fear the public mind is very insensible. We cannot but suspect that much of the occasional expressions of sorrow on this subject covers no small share of hypocrisy. Our reasons for this suspicion are, that we see no political man refuse an office because his qualifying oath obliges him to recognize and maintain the principle and practice; and very few ecclesiastical men will refuse to seal their professed belief in the *morality, benevolence* and *piety* of the slaveholder, by breaking to and with him the sacramental bread!

The issue will be tremendous. Humanity may be pressed, but its spring is not easily broken. The day of its reaction—and that day will come—will present terrible scenes. And where is the friend of human right, that, in case of a servile war, would expose his life in attempting to reduce to a continued bondage the unfortunate African, struggling for rights which he never forfeited, which he could not alienate, and which God has guarded for him by penalties unspeakably awful? Such cannot, surely, be found among those who sympathize with South America, Spain, Portugal or Greece. The freedom of millions in United, Republican America, is as precious as that of millions in any other region of our world. We conclude this paper in the language of the statesman of *Monticello*. We adopt it as our own. "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that, considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by *supernatural interference!* The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest."* Of course none who believe in or fear God would engage in it. In the words of the same author, we find an apology for our warmth. "It is impossible to be temperate, and to pursue this subject." And with him, "we must be contented to hope, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation; and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their *extirpation*." In one of these ways it must be. May the Lord direct it to be in the latter [former?]. Let slaveholders, let every citizen of these States, consider the matter in time. *For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord. I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.*

* Jefferson's Notes.

THE BLACK LAWS OF ILLINOIS.

To the Editor of The Chicago Democrat.

AN article in your paper this morning raises the inquiry, why the Legislature failed to repeal the Black laws of this State. Perhaps I may throw a ray of light upon the subject to your readers. I cannot, of course, answer your question directly; but I can state what was attempted to be done in reference to the repeal of those laws and the laws disqualifying negroes from testifying in courts for or against white men, and who prevented the thing from being done. In December, I prepared a petition for the repeal of the Black laws and the laws disqualifying negroes from testifying in courts for or against white men, and procured upon it the names of about one hundred respectable gentlemen, many of them leading politicians, and all legal voters of this city, and representing all the political parties, from the radical Abolitionist to the national Democrat, and sent it to S. M. Wilson, Esq. On the 30th day of January it came up in the House, in this way—I quote from the proceedings of the House as reported in the Illinois Daily *State Journal*, of January 31, 1861—"By Mr. Newport—Bill for an act to repeal certain acts in regard to negroes, mulattoes, and Indians."

On motion of Mr. Green, the bill was laid upon the table by the following vote: Ayes 52, Nays 16. That was a test vote, as everybody at all acquainted with legislative proceedings well knows. It killed the bill. Comment is unnecessary. The record speaks for itself, and shows that whatever else was done by our Republican General Assembly, it disposed of the rights of colored men summarily enough to satisfy Jefferson Davis or Governor Pickens.

March 27, 1861. H. B. STEVENS.

A FUGITIVE SLAVE TELLS HIS STORY.

ANDERSON MAKES A SPEECH AT MONTREAL.

ANDERSON, the fugitive slave, whose case has excited so much interest, recently made a speech at a public meeting in Montreal. One of the papers describes him as follows: "He is a middle-sized, cheerful looking man, wears a whisker, and from his dark olive complexion it is evident there is a considerable share of white blood in his views." Apparently much amused at the task of speech-making, he began by saying he felt somewhat confused at being called on for the first time to address an audience.

Rev. Dr. Wilkes requested Anderson to answer a few questions relative to his history, for the information of the audience, and for the purpose of eliciting anything he might have forgotten in his narrative. Anderson consented.

To Dr. Wilkes—I served the slave-master who sold my mother for fifteen years after that event. My master's wife was a Kentuckian, and a gentle, kind woman, and after her death I was worse treated. She influenced her husband favorably (applause). I never had a chance to learn to read in my boyhood. I attended the Methodist church, but worshipped in a different building from my master. Could not exactly tell why my master began to treat me ill. He blamed me for "taking" things, and I got stubborn. I was married when twenty-four years of age, but it did not last long (laughter). My master would get his ropes to tie me when I wanted to see my wife; then I would resist, when he would go for his gun to shoot me. Was sold for $1,000 to a man who treated me very well, but wanted me to take another wife. I at last made up my mind to leave slavery and go to Canada.

Question from one of the audience—I would like to know whether Anderson prefers being a free colored man to being a slave in the Southern States.

Anderson—Well, I think I would rather be in prison all my life in Canada than be in slavery (applause).

To another—I had a desire to learn, but thirty-nine lashes is the punishment inflicted for reading a book.

MAN-HUNTING IN CHICAGO.

THE CAPTURE OF THE HARRIS FAMILY.

From The Chicago Tribune.

THE past week has been marked by an incident which is without parallel in the annals of our city. If our comments upon the capture and rendition of the Harris family by the Federal officers, in Chicago, on Wednesday last, came in any degree short of the minuteness of details expected of us as a public journal, it was only that we might defer and avoid an appearance of haste in the censure we were unwilling to pass upon the earliest official act of a Republican officeholder, and yet, which we feel that United States Marshal Jones has richly earned in the minds of this community. Man-hunting in Chicago has never found a more zealous and willing tool.

We are not now touching upon the question of the constitutionality of a law, odious and hateful, and still a law, but it is the manner and the great zest which an over-eager and superserviceable official and his minions have manifested in carrying out its enormities. The law puts its processes, civil and criminal, into the hands of officers of all shades of humanity, and some of these, in the hands of a brute of a constable, become outrages. The mind and temper of the man is shown by the manner in which he serves his process. One relieves it of harshness, as far as possible; the other, armed with his papers, actually feasts himself upon the sorrows he has a right to bring upon those in his power, and in this light United States Marshal Jones has come out strongly.

He enters into the business of man-hunting with a zest and keenness which awakens a wonder how talents so useful on the track of runaways have, up to the present period, been latent in the lead regions of Northern Illinois, instead of finding active employment in a milder climate. It is too late for him to avail himself of any opening in that direction now, for in Jefferson Davis's kingdom they would treat a Republican Marshal as inhumanly as he lately caused the Harris family to be treated, which, we regret to add, is saying a great deal.

We object to a Federal officeholder under Abraham Lincoln surpassing in zealous man-hunting all his predecessors in office. There is a distinction between doing one's painful duty under a law, and making that duty a delight, and yet the latter has been chosen by Mr. Jones.

The leading points of this painful case have been already given, but tenfold more could be written of the repulsive features of the affair. The United States Marshal held these writs several days. He took none but pro-slavery Democrats into his office, to one of whom he had already given, probably with reference to such affairs as this, a regular deputyship. Other tools, of like antecedents and sympathies, were chosen, and their hard-heartedness tested as a man tries the steel on which he is to rely.

With a zeal, which we shall expect to see repaid by a service of plate from the "nigger-drivers," whose willing servant he became, United States Marshal Jones charters a special engine. He hires the wretch Hayes to betray his colored brethren, and the omnibus-driver, and Van Buren street bridge-tender figure as scene-shifters. All is done as if the law was a pleasure, and its service a delight to the Marshal.

The man Hayes went to the house occupied by the people of color where the fugitive family were visiting. He had himself a home on Edina Place, but for some unexplained reason insisted upon lodging at the house on Clark street, and did so against the protests of the household. At an early hour of the morning he filled out his part of the plot by slipping down and opening the door, to the bloodhounds sent from the Marshal's office. Jones denies that he was there, though he might as well have been. It would have been more courageous to have faced the father of the family, for whose return to bondage he had been for days so eagerly plotting. The meanness of the thing had already been achieved, the Marshal only managed to pause when some degree of boldness was called for.

The brutalities that were inflicted upon the family, dragged bound and gagged and half naked down stairs, the oaths and curses and show of revolvers with which the tools of Marshal Jones did his bidding, and the shocking features of a capture that would have become Dahomey, we would we could forget that they occurred in a Christian city, that they were done at the bidding of a Republican officeholder. But the mournful fact remains, and while honest men and humane men look sadly at one another, and ask if these things are so, and are to long disgrace our civilization, men whom a change of place would make capital slave-hunters and nigger-drivers, the unfledged Legrees of our bar-rooms and stews, all praise Marshal Jones, and chant his pæans over bad whiskey. We do not envy him the earliest laurels won in his official career, even if they bear a presentation of plate, and the $400 reward offered for these poor fugitives.

Had we written thus on the morning following the arrest, it might have been charged upon us that we were responsible in some measure for the scenes, unusual in this community, that have followed. The colored people have been intensely and dangerously excited. It has been with difficulty that the negro traitor Hayes was rescued from an angry armed mob of colored men, seven of whom are under arrest. They were to have been examined yesterday, but Justice Aiken has deferred it until they can procure the services of counsel. Had a riot broken out, it is impossible to say where it would have ended, but many lives might have been lost, and who shall say that the super-zealous conduct of the U. S. Marshal might not have been justly charged with it. Knowing the elements that exist, he has dared to outrage the feelings of an entire community with barbarities that would illy become him were his prisoners the veriest criminals on the earth. We doubt if the most dangerous felon would not have received more consideration at the hands of the Marshal than did his unhappy, innocent captives of Thursday morning last.

One effect of this unusual zeal in man-hunting is inevitable. Marshal Jones has now a standing advertisement that he will run down, catch and return fugitives, and in a city, located as is ours, he will have plenty of business, understood to be lucrative. He may as well announce the fact, as would the keeper of a pack of Spanish bloodhounds, that he has selected assistants, excellently well chosen for nigger-hunting, and will guarantee promptness and dispatch in the return of runaways. Does United States Marshal Jones discover no more honorable functions belonging to his office in the Northern District? Certainly there are none he has made more salient.

The city is overrun with slaveowners and man-hunters. The most extraordinary excitement prevails among our colored people, and within the past two days, hundreds of fugitives, some of them long residents here, have found safety in the British dominions. Some of these have left their homes here under circumstances of peculiar hardship, but the hunter of human flesh was upon them. In some cases, most narrowly was capture escaped. On Thursday, *a mother and her four children were concealed under a heap of manure*, in the rear of a barn in Buffalo street, in this city, when the master of the mother was turning over the hay in the loft, hoping to find them there. Think of that, mothers with happy homes, and children, on whose faces you may look and call them yours. This latter family will be unlikely to fall into the eager hands of the new United States Marshal.

We would that such facts were not to be written by us. There is enough abroad in these times to awaken alarm and dread in the mind of every patriot and philanthropist. Events are moving down upon us, at whose coming, even afar off, cheeks grow pale, and the stoutest stand appalled, as men gaze upon the coming tornado, or hear the first rumblings of an earthquake; events the most stupendous of the past two centuries, for which history has turned a fresh page, to record what men in after years shall read, as of vast portent in a world's affairs. And it is into such a presence as this, that Marshal Jones has rushed, exultant, with his captives, present and prospective, as if all that was lacking just now was a little more zeal in nigger-catching to cement a broken Union, cleanse a dishonoured flag, and roll back the threatened ruin of our national affairs.

THE OLD LIBERTY GUARD—A VIGILANCE COMMITTEE.

From The Chicago Post, April 7.

Pursuant to call, a considerable number of "live men," Simon-pure Abolitionists, met last evening in the office of F. C. P. Freer, Esq., 51 Clark street, to consider what is best for them to do in view of the course of the new United States Marshal of this District in arresting fugitive slaves.

Mr. Freer stated his object in calling the friends together. They were all aware of the barbarous act of the United States Marshal in arresting a family of colored persons in this city on the 3d inst. He had thought it best to call the Old Guard together to consider what should be done. There were a great many more fugitives in the city, and it was evident they were not safe here. He thought a Vigilance Committee should be appointed and means taken to raise money to protect the fugitives or send them to a place of safety. About two hundred dollars had already been spent in sending fugitives from Chicago to Canada since the arrest, which money had been subscribed by about a dozen persons. It was only day before yesterday that a slave woman with her five children had arrived here, poorly clad, and weary with the long journey from Missouri. She had scarcely got here when the fingers of the Marshal were after her, and she crept for concealment under a stable, where she and her children remained for thirty-six hours in the cold and damp, subsisting upon food furnished to them by stealth. During a portion of the time, the Marshal's imps were pacing back and forth within her sight. Such cases were of almost daily occurrence. The slaves arrived with little clothing and no money. They must be protected here, or provided with the means of going on to a land of freedom. This was one part of his object in calling the meeting.

Another part was to consider whether it was not time to organize as a distinct political party, coming out from among the Republican party, which had betrayed the principles it professed towards the Old Liberty Guard. He would like to hear what the friends might have to suggest upon the subject.

Mr. Warner suggested that the subject be divided. On motion, Mr. Freer was then made Chairman, and Dr. Haven Secretary of the meeting.

Mr. Warner moved that a Vigilance Committee of seven be appointed, whose particular business it should be to see that no more fugitives were taken from Chicago by the officers.

Mr. Pinkerton thought the Committee should be small; if they had to work against fraud, conspiracy and villany, a small number was better than a large one.

The motion of Mr. Warner was adopted, and the Vigilance Committee was made up as follows: L. C. P. Freer, John Jones, J. F. Temple, Philo Carpenter, Watson V. Coe, William H. Kennicott, and C. L. Jenks.

The Committee was voted power unlimited, to raise money, to appoint sub-committees, secret agents, *and to do in general such acts as may be necessary to prevent the execution of the Fugitive Slave law.*

The political part of the subject was then taken up, and Marshal Jones was discussed and cursed in warm terms. Ex-Alderman Abbott was disposed to be inquisitive, and asked the chair to inform him what the duty of the Marshal was by law.

The chair said that, technically, the Marshal's duty was to execute the law; but he thought it also the Marshal's duty, when a writ for the arrest of a fugitive was put into his hands, to deputize the Old Guard to serve it!

C. P. Waite thought the Marshal attended to the execution of this law to the neglect of his other duties.

Mr. Hawley spoke in favor of a public meeting to denounce the Marshal. The people of Chicago, he said, were indignant at the outrage recently committed by an officer of this Administration. *They would demand of Mr. Lincoln his immediate removal from office.*

The Rev. A. Waite seconded the movement for a public meeting. He, too, thought the people of Chicago had been outraged in the name of the Republican party, and that the Marshal should be forthwith removed.

The Chairman read a paper he had prepared in view of a separate political movement, which was loudly applauded.

Mr. Hawley desired to have a public meeting first, to get the public mind upon the matter.

Mr. Schilling, one of the "German element," made some very sensible remarks upon the effect of public meetings in general. In his opinion they seldom amount to much. He was for reorganizing the old Liberty party on the [illegible].

[illegible] B. Wait desired [illegible] longer trial.

Chancellor Jenks said he had just come from a meeting of colored persons, and the spectacle he beheld there was enough to make any freeman's blood boil. *All was consternation and terror. Families were breaking up, sacrificing their little property, and preparing to flee from the oppressor.* He proceeded to denounce city officers, supposed to be connected with the arrest, and pitched into the Marshal heavily, charging him as guilty of bribery. *He understood that two more fugitives had been arrested to-night. To put a stop to such proceedings, it was only necessary to have a funeral, and he was in favor of having it.*

Resolved, That whereas the United States Marshal of this District, by his recent course in the arrest of several alleged fugitive slaves, hurrying them back to a state of slavery, has evinced a mean and atrocious subserviency to the Slave Power, and has outraged the rights of our common humanity and liberty; therefore,

Resolved, That the time has come when every friend of liberty should become a committee to attend the steps of said Marshal, and his Deputies, with such physical circumstances as shall effectually put a stop to such outrages.

Resolved, That Republicans do not expect the United States Marshal to manifest an alacrity and love for the notorious duties that the infamous and unconstitutional Fugitive Slave law requires.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed by the Chairman to draw up a petition and circulate it for signatures, respectfully requesting the President to remove the present United States Marshal, for neglecting his other official duties, and devoting himself with so much avidity to the business of kidnapping colored people and running them into slavery, stopping at no fraud or stealth necessary to carry out his purposes.

The meeting, after appointing a Committee to call a public meeting in Metropolitan Hall, next Monday night, adjourned.

THE COLORED EXODUS.

From The Chicago Tribune, April 11.

The United States Marshal and his standing advertisement that he has fully equipped his office in this city with fellows of the right kidney, and is now willing to answer all orders, and catch all runaways, guaranteeing promptness and dispatch in so doing, has created a wonderful state of feeling among our colored citizens, to which we have before referred. In saloons and bar-rooms about town, the zealous Federal officer is praised, but good men and humane men bang their heads. Republicans finding this one consolation in the matter, just this, that the Marshal does well to choose his tools from the party that has always kept bloodhounds in leash, ready at the slave-driver's beck and bidding. No Republican has yet, we believe, received an appointment from the Marshal.

There has been an immense state of excitement among the colored people—generally, as a class, our most quiet citizens—and the actual presence of numerous slave-hunters in town, and the knowledge that several writs were in officers' hands has created a perfect stampede among the numerous fugitives resident here. Within the week ending with Sunday last, nearly *three hundred* people of color, from this city, have sought refuge in Canada. We give the above figure on the best authority, as the outside limit, for the reason that the number is greatly exaggerated by rumor, and accounts rife about town.

And, indeed, this is no inconsiderable number to have left one community within a week for a new home and liberty in the Queen's dominions. Many of them had been for years resident among us, and not a few were comfortably maintaining themselves in vocations useful to community. Some of them had here secured by their industry homes of their own, and were living rebukes on the libel that these people "cannot take care of themselves." But the fate of the Harris family was too marked and too recent, and the Marshal and his assistants, and bogus police officers quite too eager at man-hunting, and so the stampede began. Many were able to pay their own way to a land of freedom. Still more were aided by the charitable to the means requisite for their transportation to Canadian soil.

All through last week they left in parties of from four to twelve or fifteen, quietly, and without attracting attention. These went by the regular trains, and, generally, at second class fares. There was, however, a large share of those for whom an early departure was deemed prudent who were still in town when the week closed. A party of thirty were concealed for several days in the hold of a schooner, whose destination was the other side of the lake, but which was wind-bound in this harbor. Sunday came, and found upwards of one hundred pressing and anxious to go, for whose transportation, late in the week, preparations were made in the contract with the Michigan Southern Railroad to take them through to Detroit in freight, caboose cars, at an average of $2 apiece.

Sunday was made memorable by such an exodus as no city in the United States ever saw before. While the church bells were calling our congregations to praise and prayer, the same was the signal for a great gathering at the Baptist church on the corner of Buffalo street and Edina Place, most remarkable in its character. The house, a neat structure erected by our colored residents, was densely packed. The services were impressive and deeply affecting. The occasion was to be the farewell of the one hundred and fifteen who were to leave by the train at 6 p.m. for Canada. That quarter of the city is largely inhabited by colored residents, on Edina Place and Buffalo street, and these were out in full force. The peculiarly demonstrative characteristics of the race had their full measure of display. They wept, they embraced one another, prayed together, sang together, and passed from house to house, giving words of parting. Many of the better class brought from their homes provisions for the store of these poor pilgrims, many little trinkets and keepsakes were exchanged, and God bless you's and good byes—very like white folk, under similar circumstances, and at Delft Haven it might have been nearly the same, very like indeed.

The Michigan Southern train was to leave at 6 p.m., the regular passenger train with the four chartered freight cars attached, and into these latter, as the hour of parting drew near, they commenced stowing themselves. Each car was supplied with a cask of water and substantial provisions, boiled beef, ham, beans, bread and apples. Some of the party were old, but most of them were young men in their prime, as the class obviously most likely to run the risk of fleeing from slavery. There were quite a number of young families going, to save the children from sharing the fate of a slave mother.

One poor woman, for whom writs, it was known, were made out some days since, was brought down on a mattress, on a dray, dangerously ill, but determined to brave all for freedom. A sick child was conveyed in the arms of its father. The women, many of them, were weeping among the crowd of lookers-on. Quite a number of liberty-loving Germans did not scruple to show their sympathy, and declaim against the whole thing.

The train started, and the poor people were gone, and, by this present writing, are on Canadian soil, beyond the reach of nigger-hunters.

THE TENDER MERCIES OF THE WICKED.—The Washington (Iowa) *Weekly Press* of the 1st inst. says: "Mr. George N. Krahl, living in Clay township in this County, has received a letter from a brother now in Ohio, who has been travelling in the South, and was a witness to one of those scenes of cold-blooded murder which have been of such frequent occurrence since the commencement of political troubles between the two sections. Mr. Krahl permits us to make the following extracts from his brother's letter:

"I have been for some time travelling in the Southern States, visiting Southern cities, and endeavoring to become acquainted with Southern manners and customs. I left home with the expectation of remaining until spring, but political excitement is so intense that it is not safe for a Northern man to remain on Southern shores. A man cannot remain with safety. It is no uncommon occurrence to hang men by the neck for no earthly cause whatever, save that they were Lincoln men. . . . The day before I left Natchez, two men came down the river and landed on the wharf a boat-load of corn. No sooner had they landed than their principles were demanded by the 'Vigilance Committee,' and they, being bold fellows, swung their hats and gave three cheers for Lincoln. The Committee seized them, and took them across the river to the Louisiana shore, and hung them to a tree. I saw their bodies hanging there the next day. Their corn was advertised in the morning papers to be sold for the benefit of the State, but not one word was said in regard to those men. Oh! how I longed to cry out against such iniquity. I have longed to speak boldly to them about such things. I was bursting with indignation, but had I let one word escape from my lips, or showed by my looks or actions that I was opposed to such proceedings, my life would have paid the forfeit."

A SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.—*The New York Examiner* (Baptist) mentions a letter from the owner of between two and three hundred slaves, a man who is not able to accept the modern doctrine as to slavery. He writes: "I should be rejoiced to gain my living, and the support of my family, for the rest of my life, by the labor of my hands, if I could thus gain the freedom of my slaves. How can men talk of slavery being a moral and Christian institution? The lie is in their right hand. They know it is just the reverse, and it is almost an impossibility to preach Christ faithfully under it. Oh, Lord, deliver thy people from this awful curse! Of one thing I am convinced, that slavery is wrong, and I pray God to hasten the day of its emancipation, and I will do all I can to further this object; but these views I cannot express aloud. The Union is most ardently to be desired but I cannot help feeling that I should much prefer disunion, if by it there could be any advancement made towards abolishing slavery. I would willingly become poor, to give my share in this property up. Only think of upholding Italian liberty, while a poor slave is beaten because he prays, which was lately done on a place not far from us. My tongue, for some time past, seems tied, and I cannot speak for Jesus. Glaring inconsistency stares me all the time in the face, and the words die in my heart without utterance. I hardly know what to do but pray, and to this I intend to give myself with more earnestness than I ever have yet."

DEATH PENALTY.—The Massachusetts House refused to order to a third reading the bill for the abolition of the death penalty, which had previously passed the Senate. A motion to reconsider was lost by a vote of 92 to 128.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the Church of the Puritans (Dr. Cheever's), in the city of New York, on TUESDAY, May 7, commencing at 10 o'clock, a.m. In the evening, another public meeting will be held in the Cooper Institute, commencing at half-past 7 o'clock. Admittance to the evening meeting 10 cents, to defray expenses. The names of speakers for these meetings will be seasonably announced.

The Society will meet, for business purposes only, in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, at 3½ p.m. on Tuesday, and at 10 a.m. on Wednesday.

The object of this Society is still—as at its formation—the immediate and total abolition of slavery wherever existing on the American soil, because of its inherent sinfulness, immorality, oppression, and barbarity, and its utter repugnance to all the precepts of the Gospel, and all the principles of genuine Democracy; its measures are still the same—peaceful, moral, rational, legal, constitutional; its instrumentalities are the same—the pen, the press, the lecturing field, tracts and other publications, etc., etc., disseminating light and knowledge in regard to the tyrannical power claimed, possessed and exercised by slaveholders, the actual condition of their miserable victims, and the guilty complicity of the people of the North, religiously, politically, governmentally, with those who "trade in slaves and the souls of men"; its spirit is still the same—longsuffering, patient, hopeful, impartial, benevolent alike to the oppressor and the oppressed, zealously intent on "promoting the general welfare and securing the blessings of liberty" universally, "knowing no East, no West, no North, no South," but embracing the whole country in its charitable and humane concern, and conflicting with nothing just, honest, noble and Christian in sentiment, practice or tendency.

Whether the American Union, therefore, be dissolved or not, so long as a single slave is left in his fetters, this Society will still have its work unfinished, and will still deserve the countenance and aid of all believers in the inalienable rights of man—of all who "despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, and who reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man." Four millions yet remain to be delivered from the galling yoke of a worse than brutal servitude. Christians and patriots! can we do a nobler work, one more acceptable to God or more serviceable to our country and the world, than to "remember those in bonds as bound with them," and to labor "in season and out of season" for their emancipation?

Let unusual efforts be made by the members and friends of the Society to be present at the approaching anniversary, that there may be no lack of wise counsel and efficient coöperation with reference to the consummation of its great purpose.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, } Secretaries.
CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, }

The New York (City) Anti-Slavery Society will hold its anniversary in the Cooper Institute on WEDNESDAY evening, May 8th. Addresses by WENDELL PHILLIPS and THEODORE TILTON. Admittance 10 cents, to defray expenses.

THE PERILS OF THE PRESENT.

THE first exchange of shots has been had. And, happily, without injury to either party—if we may believe the telegraph, up to this present writing. Never before, surely, was there such an expenditure of powder and ball, without anything to show for it, since fighting was made a trade of. But we do not complain of that. Contrariwise, we rejoice at it. As the affair now on foot between the United States and the Confederacy is a mere duel of etiquette, it will be fortunate if the demands of honor can be satisfied without any effusion of blood. According to the established laws of national honor, President Lincoln can do no less than call out the militia, recruit the army, and put the navy on a war footing. Should there be any attempt to seize upon Washington, he will undoubtedly do the best he can to defend it. But we do not apprehend any such rashness on the part of the Southern Chivalry. It is a well-established fact in the natural history of that Order that its members never fight except they have deadly odds on their side. Even the good old-fashioned duel has almost passed away among them. It was too fair, and the advantages too evenly adjusted. It has been replaced by the street fight, which allows the privilege of shooting your adversary in the back if you can get a chance. Fort Sumter has afforded a perfect illustration of the quality of Southern Chivalry. No attack was made upon it until they had a hundred men to Major Anderson's one, with artillery in proportion, and earthworks which made serving the same a matter of perfect safety, as the event has proved. As, happily, through the idiosyncracy which makes it impossible for a Yankee to keep a secret, the designs on the Capital have leaked out, and as that old watch-dog, Gen. Scott, is on the look-out for the invaders, we do not think there is much danger of the attack being made.

Though nothing can exceed the baseness of this Secession Movement from its very inception, we think there can be but one termination to it, viz., its entire success. It will either be recognized as an independent Power, with or without the border States, as the case may be, or it will be crowned with the still higher triumph of a surrender at discretion of the loyal States as the price of its again merging itself in a Union with them. There never was so lying a pretext as that on which these States deserted the old flag. What rights had ever been denied them, that even they could devise? The North had caught and returned their fugitive slaves, had submitted to their three-fifths representation of their slaves, had conquered Nat Turner and John Brown for them, and guaranteed them against a Revolution of their bondmen, had opened all the Territories to their occupation, had meanly submitted to all the outrages offered to their citizens, merely as such, when found within their reach, had given the sanction of Law and of Religion to their cherished atrocity; in short, had anticipated them in every demand that insolence could make upon servility; still they had the transcendent impudence to pretend that their rights were not regarded and were not safe in the old Union! And as their pretences were lies, so their proceedings under them have been mean, cruel and thievish to a degree which would be an astonishment to any mind not aware of how utterly slavery demoralizes and disintegrates the moral nature. But, notwithstanding all this, they have only to hold their own, to maintain the present *status quo*, and they are certain of the recognition of their independence, even though the Heptarchy should not be reinforced by any of the dubious States. President Lincoln, according to his Proclamation as well as his Inaugural, only proposes to hold the forts of the coast. He does not design to invade the rebel States, even for the support of the native Union men and the protection of the Northern citizens commorant there, against the black and bloody tyranny under which they groan. This being the case, we cannot but think that the less blood shed as preliminary to this inevitable adjustment the better. We do not apprehend any considerable amount of fighting, even of the pacific sort indulged in in Charleston harbor, where thousands of cannon shots and bombs were exchanged without even so much as a bloody nose coming of it all. There must be a little, or a little show of it, and then it will be all over, and the Republic of the South an acknowledged Power on earth.

That is, supposing the more dangerous treason working in the North does not succeed in its black designs of purchasing back the revolted States at the cost of every Northern right and of absolute submission to such terms as the slaveholders may dictate. We believe that there will be no art of cajolery or of intimidation left untried to bring about this [illegible]. And we wish we could be assured that the leaders of the Republican party at Washington are not virtually in this conspiracy against Civil Liberty and Constitutional Freedom—that they will not be swift to use the influence of their political position to induce submission to any terms of the loss of the substance of liberty for the purpose of buying back the shadow of the old National Union. Unless events should get beyond their control, which is by no means an impossible thing, there is great danger that a complete victory of the Slave Power may be organized between the audacity of Jefferson Davis and the craft of William H. Seward. It is against this that all true lovers of their country, all true-hearted Republicans, who meant to effect something in their last campaign besides a change of officeholders, and of all men of all parties who have any sense of the value of principles when set against an apparent and temporary expediency, it is against this danger that they should be on the watch and on their guard. Their enemies are those of their own household, and much more formidable ones than those of which Montgomery is the headquarters. There is no great danger of the legions of the South pouring over our Northern hills and plains and planting the flag of the Confederacy, as its Secretary of War boasted they would, on Faneuil Hall itself. If they will only attempt to play at that game, there is little doubt who would rise the winners. But it is through the treacherous influences of Northern traitors, slave-drivers at heart, and who have no sense of human rights, excepting that of making money in any way, that their real victories will be won if at all. A reconstruction of the Union, such as we [illegible] last week, in which the forms of F[illegible] maintained with its essence left ou[illegible] more to be dreaded than a war as [illegible] of Seventy-Six.

There is, undoubtedly, a diversity of counsel in the councils of the Confederacy. Some are perfectly in earnest in the Secession, and full of faith in its power to maintain itself and to flourish in wealth and strength forever. Such see Africa pouring her sable legions over to their cotton fields and coining their sweat and tears into gold to fill their coffers. All Mexico, with her mines and her infinity of climates, is stretching out her hands unto them to come over and help her and help themselves to all she has. Beyond her, Central America and all South America stretches away towards the sun, inviting their beneficent invasion. Cotton fields, and rice swamps, and sugar lands, and mines teeming with wealth, are all seen in blissful vision luring them on to glory and to gold. Another sort there is undoubtedly, whose souls hanker after the flesh-pots of Washington. They look back on the good old times, when they governed the white slaves of the North, as a blessed certainty which they would be glad to see again, even at the expense of losing, or of postponing, the sweets of a more extended empire of the black slaves of the South. At the head of these we conjecture to be Mr. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, and near the head we know to be Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the same. The one has been a Cabinet officer and the other a Senator, we believe, certainly an M. C., at Washington, and we imagine they make melancholy comparisons between the former things and those with which they have now to do. Then there is the whole moderate party, Union men at heart, who have been silenced by the prevalent terrorism, who will be swift to swell the tide as soon as it turns, as it very soon may, back towards the Union again. This is the great danger that threatens liberty in America now. With just enough intimidation and menace to frighten the timid, while secret conspiracies are fomented in the heart of the North, and especially of the great cities, for the promotion of the interests of the South, it is not impossible by any means that a state of public feeling may be generated that will seem to demand an unconditional submission to all its demands.

This is the great and threatening [illegible] present hour. It is the surrender of the free [illegible] discretion, and their submission to such vile [illegible] as their conquerors may see fit to impose. These can be only such as will make the little finger of the new Union thicker than the loins of the old, and put scorpions into its hands to chasten us with, instead of the whips to which we have grown inured. Dreadful as is the alternative of Civil War, we look upon it as the lesser evil of the two. For it would only be a question of time, even as to that. Come it must and will, if the question be not settled aright now. The mind of the North has not been brought up to its present point of anti-slavery intelligence and sensibility—low as it may be—to submit permanently to an increased stringency of Slave-rule. It might for a season be wheedled or bullied into accepting the degradation offered to it. But that its gorge would rise at it, and that its struggles to rid itself of it would be soon renewed, is as inevitable as the logic of God and Nature can make it. Then must come another Secession of the South, or a more efficient one of the North. Peace can never reign again in the nation as long as slavery exists. Abolition or Disunion is the alternative offered by God himself to this people. Should the blessed issue of our present troubles be the entire and peaceable separation of all the slave States from all the free States, it would be the happiest event in transatlantic annals—the era from which the North will date the greatest development of her civilization and the South the beginning of her deliverance from the curse which dooms her to penury and barbarism.

[The foregoing article was written several days ago. Events have since transpired which put a somewhat different face upon the prospects of the American Union. It now appears almost certain that we are to have a bloody war. The pluck of the North is certainly up, and we hope she will not stay her hand so long as a single slave treads the American soil.]

MR. EVERETT AND HIS ORGAN.

OUR readers will perchance remember that, in that Faneuil Hall address of Mr. Everett wherein the exceeding felicity of Mr. Gallifet's negroes was so unctuously described, the orator was likewise moved to declare, that he had heard of no plan whereby the evils of slavery could be abated in the slightest degree. "Has any person," he demanded, "proposed, in sober earnest, a practical scheme of wholesale emancipation?" In case the Union was dissolved, he inquired, "Will the North have effected any one object, which, by men of any shade of opinion, extreme or moderate, is deemed desirable; on the contrary, will not every evil she desires to remedy be confirmed and aggravated?"

Of course, Mr. Everett must have heard of a very "practical scheme of wholesale emancipation" proposed by the Abolitionists, to wit, that he and his friends should lay down their muskets and stand out of the way. But at that time it suited the purposes of the Union party to feign that this could have no possible effect on the solution of the social problem. We were reviled, not as men preferring right to temporary prosperity, but as visionaries whose proffered aid only intensified the wrong. Perhaps a few old women and clergymen actually swallowed such assertions, with the elixirs and sarsaparillas of more harmless quackery; but we never, for an instant, supposed that the political doctors were so simple as to partake personally of their manufactured enormity. Now it seems the time has come when the truth may be serviceable—or, rather, let us hope a change of heart has first manifested itself by getting rid of hypocrisy. Mr Everett's organ now urges certain very pertinent considerations upon the attention of Virginia slaveholders. At the close of the leading article in *The Boston Courier* of the 9th inst. we find these significant sentences.

"The great incalculable boon to the slaveholding South is its indissoluble union with the non-slaveholding North. *For practically and substantially it is the North, and the alliance of the South with the North, which sustains the usage of slavery, and makes that impregnable which, without it, would be anomalous, feeble and defenceless.* It is now under the protection and shield of a great nation, which has endured, and can withstand all cavils, and defy the world!"

Thus, at length, one of the ablest pro-slavery journals finds it no longer profitable to deny the fundamental truth upon which our action for the last eighteen years has been based. So it is the North "which sustains the usage of slavery, and makes that impregnable which, without it, would be anomalous, feeble and defenceless!"

'I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word.'

Upon the issue presented honestly and forcibly in the language we have quoted, the Abolitionists have ever stood. We recognize this forced position of Boston respectability as a noble result of our efforts. Satan no longer crawls a serpent, with subtle whispers and specious lies; but stands erect, and, with a touch of Miltonic sublimity, boldly defies God.

*

THE BEGINNINGS OF WAR.

THE Southern rebellion has culminated at length in open war. The rebel forces at Charleston, under Gen. Beauregard, commenced an attack on Fort Sumter, on Friday morning, April 12th, and at 1 o'clock, p.m., of Saturday, Major Anderson surrendered. The flag of rebellion and treason now floats over the walls of that fortification. The fleet which was expected to make an attempt to reinforce Major Anderson did nothing of the sort; for what reason does not clearly appear. The particulars of the almost bloodless battle will reach our readers through other channels, and therefore we shall not devote to them any portion of our scanty space.

The news of the battle, and especially of its calamitous result, produced an unprecedented excitement throughout the North. The war spirit was at once aroused. The purposes of the Administration were disclosed in the following proclamation.

By the President of the United States:

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, The laws of the United States have been [illegible] time past and now are opposed, and the execution [illegible]eof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, [illegible] Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and [illegible]y combinations too powerful to be suppressed [illegible] ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshals by law;

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the Militia of the several States of the Union, to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed. The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department.

I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our National Union and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured.

I deem it proper to say, that the first service assigned to the force hereby called forth, will probably be to repossess the forts, places and property which have been seized from the Union, and, in every event, the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of, or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date.

Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both Houses of Congress. The Senators and Representatives are, therefore, summoned to assemble at their respective chambers at twelve o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this fifteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

The spirit of the President was also manifested in the following address, delivered by him on Saturday to the Virginia Commissioners:

To the Hon. Messrs. Preston, Stuart, and Randolph:

GENTLEMEN: As a Committee of the Virginia Convention, now in session, you present me a preamble and resolution in these words:

Whereas, In the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue toward the seceded States is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country, tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of the [illegible] ficulties, and threa[illegible] [illegible]; therefore, [illegible] That a Committee [illegible] wait on the Presi[illegible] [illegible] in this preamble, an[illegible] communicate to this Convention the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States.

In answer I have to say, that having, at the beginning of my official term, expressed my intended policy as plainly as I was able, it is with deep regret and mortification I now learn that there is great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what that policy is, and what course I intend to pursue. Not having, as yet, seen occasion to change, it is now my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the Inaugural Address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document as the best expression I can give to my purposes. As I then and therein said, I now repeat, "The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what is necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere." By the words "property and places belonging to the government," I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which were in possession of the government when it came into my hands. But if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess it, if I can, like places which had been seized before the government was devolved upon me, and in any event I shall, to the best of my ability, repel force by force. In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall, perhaps, cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the States which claim to have seceded, believing that the commencement of actual war against the government justifies and possibly demands it. I scarcely need to say that I consider the military posts and property situated within the States which claim to have seceded, as yet belonging to the government of the United States as much as they did before the supposed secession. Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country; not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort upon the border of the country. From the fact that I have quoted a part of the Inaugural Address, it must not be inferred that I repudiate any other part, the whole of which I reaffirm, except so far as what I now say of the mails may be regarded as a modification.

The call of the President for troops has been responded to with unprecedented enthusiasm in every Northern State as far as heard from, and it seems probable now that he will within a few weeks have at his disposal an army of 300,000 men, if he shall need so many. The organized militia are everywhere eager for the fray, and legions are ready to volunteer. The quota of regiments for each State under the above proclamation is as follows:

Maine	1	North Carolina	2
New Hampshire	1	Tennessee	2
Vermont	1	New York	17
Rhode Island	1	Pennsylvania	16
Connecticut	1	Ohio	13
Delaware	1	New Jersey	4
Arkansas	1	Maryland	4
Michigan	1	Kentucky	4
Wisconsin	1	Missouri	4
Iowa	1	Illinois	6
Minnesota	1	Indiana	6
Massachusetts	2	Virginia	3

To what extent the slave States above named will respond to the call upon them remains to be seen. We shall not be surprised if they all, with the exception of Delaware and Maryland, make haste to unite themselves with the Cotton Confederacy. But the free States will promptly furnish three or five times the number called for. The Legislature of New York has passed an act to raise 30,000 men, and appropriating $3,000,000 to defray the expense of their equipment. Indiana also offers 30,000, and other States stand ready to furnish their due proportion. The work of enlistment and preparation is going forward with astonishing rapidity and enthusiasm. The war spirit prevails not alone among Republicans, but among Democrats and so-called Conservatives of every stripe. On the question of fighting the Southern traitors, since they have themselves opened the war in the assault upon Fort Sumter, there is in fact a "United North"; and we hear on all sides the hope expressed that the contest may not end till every slave on the American soil is free, or, at least, until the foundations of slavery are utterly destroyed.

The state of public feeling is indicated by the fact, that Bennett's *Herald*, which, from the very commencement of the Secession movement, had been in the interest of the traitors, as openly as the Charleston *Mercury* itself, has now turned completely round to the support of the Administration. This change did not take place until the editor received unmistakable hints, not from Republicans, but from the "roughs" of Tammany Hall, that his treasonable course would be no longer tolerated. On Sunday night the office was guarded by a body of police; on Monday afternoon an excited and patriotic crowd filled the street in front of the establishment, and saluted the editor with groans and execrations. They were appeased only by an exhibition of the Stars and Stripes from the windows of the editorial rooms; and on Tuesday *The Herald* came out flat-footed for the Administration—impudently declaring that Lincoln had done just what it (*The Herald*) had advised Buchanan to do five months before! Our Philadelphia correspondent shows that public opinion in that city runs in the same channel, and that the feeling against the unscrupulous partisans of the Southern rebellion is so strong as to require the interposition of the police! The South has been told that if the Administration at Washington should dare to pursue a "coercive" policy, the Northern Democracy would at once rally to the standard of slavery. What will she say now, when she sees Democrats more eager even than Republicans to swell the ranks of the Northern army?

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, April 15, 1861.

WHAT shall a correspondent write when depressed by the heart-sickening news from Sumter, and surrounded by the agitating and confused rumors of the course to be immediately pursued by the Administration? *Fort Sumter carries the slaveholders' flag!* That is enough. One cannot well add to the brief statement of the simple fact. There is mortification enough in it to shatter the pride of the ungodliest Union-worshipper in all the land.

"Just thirty days too late!" was the exclamation of a prominent gentleman in the political world here, when he first heard that the Administration had decided to reinforce Anderson. It was a shrewd remark, and we may be thankful if it will not apply to the further movements of the government.

What shall be done about Washington, the seat of government? Will it be given up to the rebels? Can the rebels take it? In the flush of success at Charleston will they seize upon it "just thirty days" *too soon* for the Federal government? There is no use in denying that the fall of Sumter is a terrible blow at the existing government. It is a blow which will be felt in every part of the country, as well as in Europe. The rebels are elated. The slave-masters, from the Potomac to Red River, are wild with delight. It would *seem* as if the Administration had committed a fearful blunder—it may not be so in fact, however. It would seem that unless absolutely certain of success, no attempt should have been made to throw supplies into Fort Sumter. To fail at such a crisis as this, in such an undertaking, is a cruel piece of misfortune, whether it result from bad management, treachery, or want of foresight.

The government may redeem its fortunes at Pensacola, but if not there, this city instantly becomes the scene of conflict. Virginia goes out of the Union in less than a month. Maryland will try to follow. The District of Columbia will then be completely hemmed in by traitors, with no line of communication with the free States. Who will keep this line open? There can be but one answer—armed men must do it. In short, this government must—law or no law—call to its aid thousands of troops from the free States. Unless ten thousand *true men* are placed in this city within a short time, it will be taken by President Jefferson Davis. This may seem a wild conjecture, but it is the sober truth. The local militia here are not worth a rush, so far as fighting is concerned. We need men who have hearts for the encounter—who are willing to die for the sacred cause of human freedom, if need be. I am not an advocate of war. If we can have peaceable separation, by all means let us have it. The truth is, *we cannot.* The *fight* (literal) is going to come in somewhere in the play, unless the North backs down on the slavery question. It cannot be avoided, I fear—would that it might.

It is very important to learn one thing. Are the free States going to defend their capital, no matter what the cost may be? Will they furnish ten thousand or fifty thousand men, if they are wanted, to hold and protect Washington, and to keep the line of communication open with the free States? Better aband[illegible] [illegible]ything south of Mason and Dixon's at on[illegible] [illegible] wait and be compelled to do so [illegible]. A few such misfortunes, [illegible] will be utterly demoralized, an[illegible] [illegible] Democrats will begin openly to advocate [illegible] in the free States. The people like a government they can respect, and, to be respected, a government must be *powerful.*

Mr. Lincoln's reply to the impudent questions of the Committee from the Virginia State Convention shows that he is going to "put the foot down firm." It is high time, unless he means to lift it forever from the Southern soil. The Virginia fellows felt rather "cheap" when they read the reply of the President. The intimation is distinct that, *if he can*, the President will retake the forts of the United States in the possession of the seceders.

The hopeful view of the preliminary encounter is this: the rebels chose their time, place and men. Under those circumstances, six thousand men triumphed over twenty! The conquest of Sumter, under such circumstances, will arouse the people of the loyal States, and the temporary advantage gained by the Confederates at Charleston will speedily be recovered. It is not Sumter that we want, as everybody knows, but it is the power to maintain ourselves and cripple our enemies. There is not a single member of the Administration who desires the subjugation of the South. The subjugation of the seceded States will never be attempted. But who is so blind as not to perceive the vaulting ambition of these Montgomery Confederates? They must *feel* the power of this government, or the government itself will be driven from the Capital. A bold stroke at Pensacola, the blockade of Charleston, Mobile and New Orleans, or some such bold act, would do more to show the people of the country and foreign nations that the United States government is still in existence, than all the cunning diplomacy in the world. I know that very many true men desire a separation along the slave line, without war. But is not this impossible? Ten to one, if it is tried, are the chances that all the States will, at last, be swallowed up by the pro-slavery government.

Later.—Since writing the above, I have learned, on very reliable authority, that the government is making extensive preparations for asserting its supremacy in all parts of the country, and that the Capital will be defended if there is any patriotism left in the loyal States. Undoubtedly the crisis has arrived. The question now is not one of Union, *but of power.* Shall the Montgomery government be the leading, prevailing power on this continent or shall the old United States government still retain its supremacy? It is a vital question, and it can be settled in but one way. The rebels have had their little elation over the fall of Fort Sumter, but they will soon have to prepare for something which is not boy's play. If they mean war, I predict that in less than a twelvemonth, fifty John Brown expeditions will enter the heart of the South, carrying the white flag of freedom to the slave. It cannot be helped. If the South persistently carries on her purpose of war upon the Federal government, its property and its Capital, in a few weeks, or months, we shall be in the midst of civil war, and the most terrible one the world ever witnessed. When we are in the midst of that conflict, the free States will strike at the weak part of their enemies. It cannot be helped. Slavery will not be tolerated a twelvemonth after the United States draws the sword of justice from its sheath. The people will not go into a bloody civil war for nothing. The Southern people make the war *for* slavery, and the people of the free States will be forced, in self-defence, to *overthrow* the "institution."

Until the government receives its own dispatches from Major Anderson and the fleet off Charleston harbor, we cannot judge fully and fairly of the surrender of Sumter. Nor, until a few more days have elapsed, can the future operations of the government be known, except in the general. For the present, as a matter of course, there is a great deal of confusion and conflict in the reports which circulate through the States. A week hence, I shall doubtless be no longer in the dark, and we shall, all of us, have more facts to predicate speculations and opinions upon.

The proclamation of the President, issued since the above was written, indicates more clearly what the Administration is going to do. It means to take the bull by the horns this time. The seceders will find that they cannot carry on their boy's play much longer *without hurting somebody.* If the North responds at once to this call, and seventy-five thousand men [illegible] speedily put into the field, the Capital will be [illegible] and possibly civil war itself averted. Two [illegible] and fifty thousand armed troops down on the P[illegible]vania and Ohio border would crush out secession. [illegible] President means to make the war down in [illegible] rebels who started the heresy. It is said that [illegible]ton will be blockaded for a twelvemonth. If so, Sumter will have cost Charleston dear. Its commerce and trade will be gone, and it will have [illegible] to subsist upon!

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, April 15, 18[illegible]

A VIRTUOUS war is better than a corrupt peace. [illegible] is sometimes a crime, sometimes a calamity. It [illegible] the latter character when it can only be postpo[illegible] averted by consenting to wrong and aiding in its [illegible]tration. Calamity of any kind is to be dreaded, [illegible] comparison to crime it is to be welcomed with[illegible]

The peace of which this country has boast[illegible] years has been hollow and partial. It has b[illegible] peace of a successful conspiracy. The North [illegible] spired with the South to keep a race in chains. [illegible] the free States have been bearing arms for thre[illegible] ters of a century in behalf of the slaveholder ag[illegible] the slave. As between the blacks and their mas[illegible] there has not been an hour of peace. The North [illegible] the South have dwelt together in comparative [illegible] but between these two sections and the subjuga[illegible] there has been unceasing war. Hostilities may [illegible] been suspended, but the war has never ceased.

Of late, we of the North have had virtue en[illegible] repent in part of our meanness in maintaining [illegible] armed intervention against the blacks; and for t[illegible] fellow-conspirators now make war upon us [illegible] demand that we shall aid them in their purpo[illegible] only to perpetuate but to extend their system of [illegible]age, and our refusal to comply is made a justifica[illegible] of war. We are shut up to the necessity of either [illegible]ing, by force and arms, to multiply the victims [illegible] slavery, or of turning the weapons, hitherto thus [illegible]ployed, against their brutal oppressors. Which [illegible] we choose? What virtuous mind can hesitate[illegible]

The question is not between resistance and [illegible]tian non-resistance; it is not whether war, [illegible] considered, is ever justifiable; it is not w[illegible] every war does not imply, somewhere and at [illegible] time, crime on both sides; it is not whether individuals of enlightened conscience should not utterly refuse [illegible] bear arms, or whether nations should not settle their disputes by the argument of reason instead [illegible] the arbitrament of the sword. The truth in a[illegible] plain enough; but these are not now matters o[illegible]versy. The question is, whether this nation, assuming the right to bear the sword, should not use it against the slaveholder instead of against the slave? Thus presented, the case admits of but one answer.

This nation is about entering, for the first time in its annals, upon a virtuous war; that is, upon a war [illegible]per-induced by the virtue of its people. As between this war and the base peace that has been proffered us, welcome, thrice welcome, the grim-visaged monster, with all his attendant calamities!

This is to be an abolition war. The South has [illegible] to give it this character. They call the Northern States abolition States, and the Federal government an abolition government. They accept no disclaimer, but insist that the ascendancy or the abolition of slavery shall be the issue. The North has not been and is not yet prepared for final action on this question; but she has no alternative. She must take the position to which her friends have been long urging her, and which is now assigned her by her enemies. Will they, nill they, the people of the North are now engaged in a war which can only end in the triumph or extinction of slavery. The Cabinet at Washington had not so intended it; but the powers at Montgomery will leave them no option. These latter refuse to wait the slow progress of natural causes, but, anticipating what must come, demand that the question be now settled at once and forever. They have drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. We have nothing left us but to follow their example. We must accept the issue as they tender it.

From this time forward the stern controversy of slavery puts on a new aspect. New combinations are to be formed, new parties will come into the field; new designs will be conceived, and the work of years will be crowded into as many days. In real life, as on the stage, event follows event in quick succession as we near the catastrophe. A moral enterprise, like fruit on the tree, ripens suddenly, when it has once reached its dimensions. Events are surely about to take place which most of us have hitherto imagined to be far in the distance. But amazing is the incredulity of the people! Our own friends distrust their own prophecies, even when the fulfilment takes place before their eyes. They have said that the slavery controversy would lead to *disunion, civil war,* and *emancipation,* and now, when two-thirds of their prediction has come to pass, they not only hesitate as to the remainder, but doubt whether that which has taken place is really an assured fact. "The slaveholders surely will not be so mad," say they, "as to persist in the course in which they have begun. They are expecting to frighten us into their terms. They can't seriously contemplate permanent secession: they have too much sense to inaugurate a general war: as slaveholders they will ultimately seek the safety of their institution under the guardianship of the Union. They may extemporize a government, but it will only be for a transitory purpose. They may attack a fort, when an excited populace demands it, and when a force of forty to one ensures success; but they will not deliberately enter upon a war with such fearful odds against them."

To talk thus is to argue a slight acquaintance with the subject, and a want of knowledge of the Southern mind. The South, though "madness is in their hearts," are not fools. They are—assuming slavery to be right—wiser in their generation than the children of light. We are fools in misunderstanding them: and our [illegible]apprehensions lead to practical mischief.

Let us look at this matter for a moment from a Southern point of view. Let us imagine ourselves in a slaveholders' conclave, before secession, when the question was first discussed, or, what will be better, let us fancy ourselves in Jeff. Davis's Cabinet, where, by supposition, the matter comes up for reconsideration. It will require no great stretch of imagination to suppose the question thus introduced by President Davis: '[illegible] men, what say you? Shall we, in view of the obstacles before us, go on with our enterprise, or, regarding the advantages to accrue from such a course, shall we accept the m[illegible] to the Union [illegible]

To this w[illegible] the Treasury [illegible] has thus far failed to find spontaneous take[illegible] treasury needs replenishment; it is doubtful if [illegible] governments will recognize us; business is pros[illegible] the commerce of Charleston has suffered immense, [illegible] not irremediable, injury, and Savannah, Mobile and New Orleans may soon be in like condition, and general calamity stares us in the face.'

"True," adds Mr. Vice-President Stephens, [illegible] and to enhance the force of these considerations, if we return to the Union we return to our former prosperity. Business will resume its usual channels, and our institution here in the States will be in no danger from Federal interference. We have the amplest assurances that neither the Cabinet nor Congress of the United States contemplate any act of hostility to our system in those parts of the country where it is already established.

"What you say, gentlemen both," we can fancy the astute and imperturbable Mississippian saying in reply, "is indubitably true. But there are other things that are true besides. The anti-slavery sentiment of the North is steadily gaining ground. It now forbids the extension, it will anon demand the abolition, of slavery. You can judge of what it will do from what it has done. Look at the government it has given to the old Union. Lincoln, the first man to announce the doctrine of an "irrepressible conflict," President; Hamlin, with the African *prænomen* of *Hannibal*, Vice-President. Our arch enemy, Seward, with Chase, Blair, and others of the same sort, in the Cabinet; Sumner and Wilson, Fessenden, Wilmot and Wade, etc., etc., in control of the Senate, and Stevens, Hickman, Grow, Potter, Lovejoy, and the like, masters of the House. The foreign appointments filled by such men as Adams at the Court of St. James, Dayton at the Tuileries, Pike at the Hague, Schurz at Madrid, with Schufelt to support him as Consul at Havana; Clay at St. Petersburg, Marsh at Sardinia, Burlingame at Vienna, and Fogg, the New Hampshire man, of Kansas memory, Consul Resident in Switzerland. Then look at the appointments at home. As a sample, take Palfrey as Postmaster at Boston, Barney, [illegible] or Tappan, dispenser of the immense patronage of the Customhouse of New York: a man of like character to have the same post at Philadelphia, and so all the list through. Last, but not least, behold that veteran Abolitionist, Joshua R. Giddings, at the Northern end of the Underground Railroad as Consul General to Canada! Gentlemen, this is what the government of the United States, at home and abroad, is now: what it will be under the added forces which are thus given to the abolition sentiment, you can imagine as well as I. In the Union, our fate as slaveholders is sealed: the overthrow of our system is only a question of time. Our only hope—a desperate one it may be—is in a separate confederacy. In the Union, our attitude must be that of submission: out of it, we rule. Which will you choose? To rule, with a chance of escaping ruin? or to *be* ruled, with the certainty, though at a more distant day, of utter ruin to all that is dear to you as slaveholders?"

The debate is ended. The council is of one mind. Without hesitation or a waver, they unanimously resolve to persevere as they have begun. This determined, the next resolve follows as a matter of logical sequence. A separate confederacy is war. War is inevitable. What can't be avoided had better be anticipated. "The thing we need," says Mr. Davis, "is the *prestige* of success. Celerity and boldness must characterize our movements. We must reassure our friends at home, gain the border States, and strengthen the hands of our allies at the North. To this end, Sumter must be reduced, Pickens captured, and a bold dash made for the archives and insignia at Washington."

This is the policy deliberately determined by the slaveholders, and it will be pursued, we may rest assured, to the bitter end. There are henceforth to be but two sides to the controversy, however various may be the motives of individuals in the contending parties. The armies of slavery are to encounter, in battle array, the hosts of freedom; and may God defend the right!

The North is, in all *material* respects, singularly well prepared for the conflict. Our bank vaults are replete with gold, and bullion is still flowing in. Our Western granaries are bursting with food. Last week there were 4,000,000 of bushels of wheat in Chicago waiting for transshipment! Imports, diminished by the disasters of 1857 and exports, made enormous by the cereal crops of 1860, transform England from a creditor of this country into a debtor. In the North the anti-slavery party is in power in all the States, and at Washington we have, to the extent possible under the Constitution, an anti-slavery government. These are propitious circumstances. If we were in as good condition morally as we are materially, the result for which we hope, and which finally must come—*entire riddance of the curse of slavery*—would be reached more decisively and with much less delay. For, though we have in a sense arrived at the end of this controversy, it is only the beginning of the end. Since the capture of Fort Sumter, the people of this city, of this State, of the entire North, are a unit; but not—as in their intentions against slavery, or against the Slave Power. They don't contemplate abolition; many of them denounce Abolitionists as the guilty cause of all the trouble. They are actuated by a natural feeling of patriotism; by a passion for the national flag; and doubtless, in part, by that generous instinct for liberty common to all the human family.

But, as the conflict goes on, the people will become acquainted with its true merits, and in the end it will be intelligently what it now is unconsciously, on the part of the masses, a contest for the supremacy or the overthrow of slavery.

In making up your news for the week you will notice, of course, the intense enthusiasm of this city and State in support of the National government. Sympathizers with the South are struck dumb, and some of them have had to fly for their lives. The men who have been foremost to denounce us Abolitionists by name, and threaten us personally with the halter, were yesterday in imminent jeopardy, and it was with difficulty that their friends, aided by the police, could save them from bodily harm. The Tylers, Van Dykes and George Martins found themselves in danger, like Haman, of being suspended by the rope which they had prepared for others. Enclosed I send you a chip of the sign of *The Southern Monitor*, which was smashed yesterday by the mob, and its splinters distributed among the crowd as trophies! I deplore mobs, but I rejoice in the change of public sentiment, which puts the rude and unreasoning masses on the side of liberty.

There is a line in the President's Proclamation about "avoiding, in any event, the destruction of or interference with property," which is a little ambiguous. Does this mean slave property? The suspicion that it does comes of our complications with the border slave States. This is no time to stop and help the slave-drivers hold their chattels. If Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky choose, whether in the Union or out of it, to hold slaves, let them do so at their own risk and on their own responsibility. But this is not a necessary interpretation of the Executive document, and the people, choosing to regard it as a manifesto against the Slave Power, hail it with the heartiest approval.

I regret the tone of your English Correspondent's last letter on the subject of our amended tariff. If it be true that in England "the feeling in favor of the North has gone round" not exactly to, but towards the South, because Congress has substituted specific for *ad valorem* duties, and added ten per cent. to the impost on cotton manufactures and iron, then the feeling of that country is not of as much value as we had supposed. It was to be expected that Manchester and Birmingham would not like the change, and that *The London Times, News* and other papers, would join with the New York importers in denouncing it; but it was hardly to be supposed that one so well informed as "H. M." should find, in this act of Congress, evidence that, in the matter of liberty and public virtue, there is little to choose between the North and the South. "H. M.'s" sympathy with our Northern citizens, whom she imagines to be suffering from this "attempt on their rights," and her impatience with their "passive behavior" in submitting to it, are quite amusing. A tariff may be a bad thing, as doubtless it is, if it be a needless shackle on the freedom of commerce; but certainly the principle of the schedule recently agreed upon by Congress has afforded great satisfaction to all our industrial classes. We are sorry for Glasgow and Birmingham, but if Pittsburg and Shelburne Falls gain what they lose, where is the loss to humanity?

"H. M." is not so well "booked" on these questions as she used to be, or she would not fall into the error of [illegible] to "pay high for [illegible] of buying English [illegible] nocence! she does [illegible] tools, for laboring [illegible] manufacturing purposes, used in this country, are made in this country; that orders are received here in this city from English houses for large quantities of these tools for Australia; that American tools are elbowing English productions out of the Chinese market; that English manufacturers have been known to counterfeit the trade marks of American hardware in articles meant for this market; that our finest table cutlery is made on this side of the water, and that all of our surgical instruments are made in this country, and most of them in this city. We used to be dependent on England for all these things; now, but a fraction comes from that quarter, and soon that fraction will cease. Hence these tears! "H. M." reads *The Times* with too much faith; let her try *The Tribune*: it is better informed on these subjects, and more trustworthy.

M.

DISGRACEFUL INVITATION.—We are amazed at the insult the Unitarian body have received from their Committee on Invitations to the Annual Unitarian Festival at Boston. It appears that *Millard Fillmore*, by means of whose Presidential signature the accursed Fugitive Slave bill has been called law, has been invited as an honored guest to their next May meeting! If this be true, and if this be endured, Unitarians are disgraced, and Unitarianism made a by-word in the eyes of the world.

DISCOURSES OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.—Two of the latest Discourses of Wendell Phillips—one entitled "*The Lesson of the Hour*," the other "*Disunion*"—have been published in pamphlet form, and may be had at this office. They were both delivered in the Music Hall, Boston—the first on the 20th of January, the second Feb. 17th, 1861. They have both appeared in our columns, but many of our readers will be glad to see them in this more permanent shape.

THE SENTIMENTAL-PIOUS DEFENCE OF SLAVERY.

One of the characters in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a rough but humane Kentucky drover, listening to the comments of the steamboat passengers upon a gang of slaves on their way to the New Orleans market, heard a clergyman decisively settle the slave question by a reference to the text, "Cursed be Canaan." Another clergyman, however, promptly announced as his opinion that another text—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them!"—is at least equally inspired, and at least equally valuable as a rule of action. Whereupon the listener came to the conclusion that—"There's differences in parsons."

The position of Rev. Nehemiah Adams of Boston, in regard to high and low *caste*, has been pretty clearly defined, both by his "South-Side View of Slavery," and by his action in the Tract and Missionary Societies. Yet, choosing to give line upon line and precept upon precept, in defence of slavery, he has given us a new book* upon that subject, in which he elaborately states, and defends, the "Cursed-be-Canaan" line of argument.

In Chapter VIII. of this book, called "The Tenure," Dr. Adams gives an account of a conversation respecting slavery, in which a Southern "Judge" was made the happy instrument of converting him to his present views on that subject.

A Southern physician, who had no slaves, took the ground that all the slaves had a right to walk off whenever they pleased. He did not see why we should hold them in bondage rather than they us, so far as right and justice were concerned. Some of the slaveholders "were evidently much troubled in their thoughts," and Dr. Adams's own feelings, at first, went with the physician and with his arguments; but he soon saw that these were "not very clear, nor deep": and the Judge, taking up the argument, so essentially contributed the requisite clearness and depth, as to convince the slaveholders, and their Northern visitor, that slavery was right, and that the slave ran away from his duty when he ran away from his master. Here are his conclusions, some of the more significant of which we mark with *italics*:

"I will take it for granted, said he, that we are agreed as to the unlawfulness of the slave trade, past and present. We find the blacks here, as we come upon the stage. We are born into this relationship. It is an existing form of government in the slave States.

"Ownership in man is not contrary to the will of God. I also find it written that Canaan shall be a servant. Hear these words of inspiration: 'Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.' *As* the Japhetic race is to dwell in the tents of Shem, for example, England occupying India, so I believe the black race is under the divine sentence of servitude. Moreover, being perfectly convinced of the wrongfulness and the infinite mischief to all concerned of the forcible liberation of our slaves, I am assisted in settling, in my own mind, the question as to the right of individual slaves to escape from service, and our right to continue in this relationship, *conforming ourselves in it always to the golden rule*.

"If it be the right of one, under ordinary circumstances, to depart, it is the right of all. But the government under which they live, in this commonwealth, recognizes slavery. The Constitution and the General government protect us in maintaining it. The right of our servants to leave us at pleasure, *which could not of course be done without violence on both sides*, implies the right of insurrection. It is impossible to define the cases in which insurrection is justifiable, but the general rule is that it is wrong. Government is a divine ordinance. Men cannot capriciously overthrow or change it, at every turn of affairs which proves burdensome or even oppressive. God is jealous to maintain human government as an important agency in his own administration. Men justly in authority, *or established in it by time*, or by consent, or by necessity, *or by expediency*, may *properly* feel that they are God's vicegerents. He is on their side."—pp. 179, 180.

After referring to Mr. Jefferson's well known statement respecting slavery, and saying that, in the highest Christian sense, Mr. Jefferson was "*not qualified to understand* this subject," the Judge proceeds thus:

"That it is best, however, and that it is right, for this relation to continue until God shall manifest some purpose to terminate it consistently with the good of all concerned, I am perfectly convinced and satisfied. I believe that it has reference to the great plan of mercy toward our world, and that when the object is accomplished, the providence of God will, in some way, make it known. It may be the case, no candid man and believer in revelation and divine providence will deny it to be possible, that this dispensation with regard to this colored race will continue for long ages to come, in the form of bondage. *That they are now under a curse, and have been so for centuries, is apparent.* When the curse is to be repealed, God only knows."—pp. 184–5.

The Judge then, after alluding to the possibility that Insurrection may solve the problem of African slavery, and comforting his mind in view of this *mysterious* possibility "by resting in Providence," states two other possible contingencies, thus:

"EMIGRATION, then, said he, is the second of the three ways in which this problem of slavery may have its solution.

"In preparation for this, I say, *God* may keep these Africans here much longer. He may need more territory on which to *educate* still larger numbers; and we may see *him extending slavery* still further in our land and on our continent. So that there may be one other way in which the purposes of God will manifest themselves with regard to the colored race here, and that is by EXTENSION.

"It may be that still greater portions of this land and continent are to be used, for ages to come, in the multiplication of the black race. *I feel entirely calm* with regard to the subject, believing that God has a plan in all this, and that it is wise and benevolent toward all who fear him. While our relation to this people remains, the law of love, the golden rule, must preside over it. That does not require us to place the blacks *on a level with us* in our parlors, nor in our halls of legislation; and there may be disabilities properly attaching to them, which, though they *seem* hard, are the *inevitable* consequence of a dependent, inferior condition. All this, however, has a benign effect upon *us*, if we will but act in a Christian manner, to make us gentle, kind, generous; and when this is the case, no state of society is happier than ours."

We read of the calmness with which the Spanish Inquisitors could look on and wait until the agonies of the rack had extorted the desired confession from their victims. We do not think better of them for this calmness; but we do not learn that they boasted of it as a merit. It was left for Dr. Adams, and the "unjust Judge" whose monstrous statements he indorses, to tell how "calm" they feel in the conviction that God authorizes them to place black men under their feet.

The staple of this book, or the portion of it in which the author and his pious slaveholders speak, resembles that language of the equally devout Mr. Jekyl, in "Dred," which Nina Gordon declared to be worse than her brother Tom's swearing.

The self-complacent flippancy with which these men speak of God, and his purposes, the quietness with which they assume that he has "cursed" a large portion of their human brethren, the alacrity which they show in pleading for a continuance of that hell upon earth which slavery brings upon its victims, the impudence of their representation that the Southern overseer and slave-driver and slave-trader are God's approved instruments, so deliberately appointed to inflict his curse upon the slaves that *they* are bound in duty to remain and suffer it, and the awful hardihood which uses the very words of Jesus, and the law of love which he enjoined, in justification of the worst tyranny now known to the world, seem to us to indicate no common depth of depravity.

It is supposed by some worthy persons that the character of the popular religion of this country inclines its subjects to favor slavery. This is a very great error. But if distinguished and widely known representatives of that faith force themselves upon public attention as the voluntary advocates of that which is at once the great sin and the great shame of our country, and yet, like Dr. Adams, continue to receive from its other representatives, lay and clerical, the accustomed tokens of respect and confidence, absolutely without abatement, and to be recognized by them, just as much as ever, as Christians, and as Christian ministers, it can hardly be but that men will take such fruit to indicate a corrupt tree.

It is necessary to Dr. Adams's purpose to misrepresent the Abolitionists, and he draws two foolish caricatures who are made to stand for them, to be twitched by his string into ridiculous attitudes purporting to be theirs, to make silly concessions to his crafty questions, and to seem affected by his sanctimonious sophistry and convinced by his presentation of assumption as argument.

The book opens with a letter, represented as a real one, and likely enough to *be* real, in which the wife of a slaveholder speaks with tender sympathy of the sorrows of a slave woman who has lost her child by death. Of course, no Abolitionist ever questioned the existence of such feelings in some wives of some slaveholders. But Dr. Adams's stuffed figure of an Abolitionist cannot believe it a genuine letter. He looks suspiciously at the post-mark, collates the internal and external evidence, declares that he should not have thought it possible wonders what his old associates will say to it, thinks that, for liberty's sake, it had better be suppressed, and, finally, swallows the conclusions which the book presents as correct and inevitable, namely, that the slaveholders *must* be good—the slaves *must* be happy—and slavery *must* be right!

Dr. Adams prefers to proceed by indirection. Although some of his direct assertions are sufficiently emphatic, he chooses rather, in most cases, to insinuate, and to represent his tamed Abolitionist as driven by justice and candor to follow those insinuations to conclusions favoring slavery. He placidly presents premises grossly sophistical or false to the consideration of Mr. "A. Freeman North," and Mr. "A. Freeman North" jumps, like a kangaroo, to the conclusions which might, could, would or should be true, if those premises were sound; or volunteers such further specimens of sophistry or falsehood as the author deems his case to need. And Mrs. North is equally pliable. Here are two specimens:

"You seem to think that a great feature and the most common effect, of slavery is to separate families. Such is the general belief at the North. Let me remind you that there is no form or condition of service in the world which has more effect than slavery to keep families together.

"Well, said Mrs. North, dropping her work in her lap, I never thought of that before.

"Why, said I, where will you find in the free States husband and wife and children living together as servants in the same family?

"Said Mrs. North It is rather uncommon with us to find two sisters living together as help in a family."—p. 142.

Speaking of the chance that war may follow the secession of the Gulf States, the author says—

"Think of our taking up arms against our correspondents; against people who have gone from our Churches and settled in that State; against cousins, and brothers-in-law, and people who lived or did business under the same roofs with us.

"It is awkward, indeed, said Mr. North, especially if they simply withdraw and hold the fortifications of the general government, in their own territory, to keep the government from destroying their lives."—p. 261.

In his "South-Side View," Dr. Adams represented that gross injustice was done to the Southern people by the charge of "vilely multiplying their slaves." He did his utmost then, as now, to provide impunity for a continuance of the adulteries and incests practised by slaveholders, but *delicacy* would not allow him to *name* those crimes. His delicacy remains unabated in the present volume, but the additional reason that he gives for deprecating inquiry upon that subject is peculiar and note-worthy.

"You must bring yourself to believe, Mr. North, that Southern hearts are, in general, as humane and cultivated as ours. This, it is true, is a great demand upon a Northerner.

"But oh, said he (we happening to be alone just then), the cruelty of compelling virtuous people, members of Churches, to commit sin, under pain of being sold.

"Mr. North, said I, how do you dare to open your lips on that subject you, with myself, a member of a denomination in which men, eminent in our pulpits, have so many of them of late years fallen. One would think that we would never cast a stone at the South on that subject."—p. 145.

It will be remembered that, in the "South-Side View," Dr. Adams intimated the desirableness of reopening the foreign slave trade. Similar intimations occur in this volume, *alternating with explicit assertions in the contrary direction.* Sometimes these opposites are combined in one paragraph, as in the following:

"But I am not in favor of stealing Africans from their native land to bring them here, even though it were certain that the majority of them would be converted to God. We are not to do evil that good may come. If Providence makes it plain that tribes of them shall be removed to new districts of our country, *suitable measures can and will be devised for that purpose.* That they are better off here, even in slavery, than in their own land, under present circumstances, I do not see how any one can question; but that does not justify man-stealing."—p. 246.

Possibly Dr. Adams is puzzled by the vacillations of the Southern "Confederacy" in regard to the direct trade with Africa; possibly he thinks that his clerical brethren in New England, however indulgent to his defence of the domestic slave trade, might object to advocacy of the foreign one; might discover *that* to be unchristian, and might withdraw their fellowship from one who openly defended it. It may be that their consciences would, it may be that they would not, bear this additional stretch; but if the mind of our author should ever receive comfortable assurance upon that point, we have no doubt that a single hour's conference with his friend "the Judge," with a prayerful consideration of the text—"COMPEL them to come in"—would settle all his difficulties, and enable him, if his health should require a warmer climate, to go out as chaplain of the yacht "Wanderer."

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* The Sable Cloud: a Southern Tale, with Northern Comments. By the author of "A South-Side View of Slavery." Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861.—pp. 275.

DR. CHEEVER'S CORRESPONDENCE.

[DR. CHEEVER is so closely occupied in the prosecution of his mission to Great Britain that he has no time to chronicle his movements for this or any other American paper. We are permitted, however, by some of his friends in this city, to publish the following extracts from private letters—the latest received from him. They will be read with great interest.]

I HAVE just returned from a visit to Brighton, where we met with a most cordial reception, dined with the Lord Mayor and a sister of Lord Macaulay, had a lecture on the beauty of slavery and the glory of the new Slave Confederacy in the evening, were invited to come again and have another public meeting, made arrangements for collections for our cause, and, I think, set a feeling agoing that will not stop short of a petition from Brighton to Parliament against any recognition of the new Slave Confederacy. I am going to propose a remonstrance from all the women of Great Britain against recognizing as a nation such a community of remorseless thieves, the very acknowledged and declared purpose of whose separate independent national existence is a more perfect security and perpetuity in the making merchandise of men, women and children. I have no doubt the proposition will be received with enthusiasm, and acted on.

Saturday we are on the way to Halifax, where I am engaged to preach, and hold a public meeting Monday evening. Wednesday we have a lecture in Liverpool, and the Sabbath after I expect to preach in that city, and, perhaps, address a public meeting the Monday or Tuesday following. After that I expect to be in Leeds, and then to return to London for a public meeting here. Several of the nobility take a very deep interest in our cause. The death of the Duke of Sutherland has prevented the execution of a plan which they had formed of throwing open the Duke's House in London for a public *soirée*, under the auspices of the Duchess, with entrance tickets at a pound, for our cause. On the other hand, among the ministers there is very little zeal, and not a little coldness on the part of some. There is also a large party all prepared to take the very ground taken by our opponents in America, namely, that slaveholding is not sinful in itself, of course sympathizing very much with slaveholders, and comparatively little with the slaves. However, wherever I get access to the people, there is great enthusiasm, a hearty hatred of the accursed system, and a readiness to aid in overthrowing it. Much interest is awakened in some quarters by my book on the Guilt of Slaveholding, and it is planned to have a cheap edition published in this country.

The developments in America give us greater power than ever. They demonstrate the truth of all that we have been telling the world respecting the horrible prevalence of the great sin, in the Church as well as the State, in our country. What a deplorable want of courage, nobleness and moral principle in the Inaugural address of the new President! And what a superfluity of naughtiness and needless meanness in the argument in behalf of the Fugitive Slave law! But this for the sake of retaining the border States in the Union! Not till they have joined the Slave Confederacy, or taken measures for emancipation, shall we at the North have either peace or independence. And the moral conflict will have to be maintained more earnestly than ever against the base and infamous traitors to God and humanity all around us, in the Church and in the Ministry, defending slavery as an institution of religion. May God baptize us with the spirit of prayer, faith and love requisite for this continued work.

I think it begins to be manifest that God is hastening the slaveholding power and abomination to its end. Secession will prove both a terrible judgment on the South, and a blessing to the North, if the North will but stand firm. And, thank God! the efforts of the multitude of traitors against God and humanity to bring about a disgraceful and disastrous compromise do not seem as yet successful. Even the Peace Congress appears to be a most providential failure. But oh! you cannot tell what contempt and astonishment are felt in this country, among those who see things as they are, for the cringing, slavish disposition and want of all beginning of right principle in the North towards the South. They say, Our only hope now, our only ground of hope, that the North will be prevented from compromising with the Slave Power, lies in the savage pluck of the extreme South, that they will not accept any terms that the North will beg. What does Mr. Phillips mean by thanking God that at length we have a North? We can see nothing as yet to justify such a boast. Certainly, nothing in Boston, except the continued firmness of the Abolition party, by which alone, and by the protests they are uttering, the country is being saved from utter degradation. Phillips's speeches and addresses are masterly. I wish he were here in England, and could get a few opportunities of being heard. We had recently a meeting here in London, assembled by Lord Kinnaird and his brother at the house of the latter, at which I would have given much if one or two men like Phillips could have spoken.

By secession, by the madness of the South, God, we begin to think, has mercifully saved the North, by making it manifestly safer now, and more expedient, to cease maintaining and securing slavery. God has mercifully interposed to save the North from that deeper degradation and wickedness which manifestly she was contemplating in order to preserve the Union. God has suddenly burst the Union asunder, and thus prevented the consummation of a worse intended sacrifice of all principle to slavery than ever.

WESTERN OPERATIONS.

CONCORD, N. H., April, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti Slavery Standard.

WHATEVER may be the results of the campaign at the West, it has been one of constant and severe labor and exposure, not to speak of the dangers and actual suffering at the hands of infuriated mobs. In no instance, however, has a mob prevailed over us. Indeed, it is doubtful whether every disturbance did not actually aid us in an important degree. The outrages at Ann Arbor and Farmington, in Michigan, arrested, for a time, all proceedings; but, in both instances, our recoil upon the mob, and ultimate triumph, were signally successful.

The field of operations embraces Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa. If it be true that our "field is the world," it is also true that we have had *a world of a field*, and, in many parts, scarcely yet emerged from chaotic matter, morally or materially. It is doubtful whether, with our present working force, we shall act wisely if we attempt the culture of so vast an extent. Even the Western Reserve, we have seen, is not beyond returning fugitive slaves, though considered the garden of the Western anti-slavery world. I consider my own movements, however, the past season, to be worth double their cost, as a tour of anti-slavery observation. Famine begins, in a moral and spiritual point of view, a long way this side of Kansas. And yet the West abounds in truly brave men and noble women.

What the West, and, indeed, the world, wants, is a higher tone of integrity and morality and virtue, *based on principle*, on the law of eternal right, that does not wait to see a fugitive slave to become anti-slavery, but can act with a thousand times more zeal for the more pitiable millions that have not escaped than for the few who have had that good fortune; that holds constitutional slavery to be just as vile and criminal as unconstitutional; the domestic slave trade every way as abhorrent to human nature and divine justice as the foreign; and slavery itself no more to be dreaded in Kansas than in Arkansas, and the Democratic party no more guilty in extending it into the former than the Republican in *swearing and bearing fealty to it in the latter*; that regards a Church and Ministry that keep faith and fellowship with both political parties, and belong to both and do the works of both, while praying and preaching to have the evil removed, as the very "synagogue of Satan," as "a den of thieves," "a cage of unclean birds."

In a word, the West and the world need men and women who scout and scorn all compromises with slavery and slaveholders; who will say to the doctrine loudly vaunted "Freedom national, slavery sectional," *Get thee behind me, Satan! thou art an offence unto me*: men and women who will do justice, whatever the Constitution provides, and love mercy, no matter what the laws decree, and walk humbly and truly with God, though dens of ravening lions, furnaces of devouring fire, or seas red with blood, beset them on every hand; that will do right, *because it is right*, heaven or no heaven, and avoid wrong *because it is wrong*, even were there no retribution, here or hereafter; who will strive to be beautiful oases themselves, though all around them is a Zahara desert of compromise, crime, desolation and death, temporal and eternal.

But devotion like this, where shall it be found, in East or West? What political party inculcates it? What Church believes in it, or what pulpit proclaims it? The Republican party, the new Tract and Missionary Societies, the so called anti-slavery Congregational Churches, the Spiritualists and the Progressive Friends, all have enough of anti-slavery, in name and profession, to lead captive many of the noblest and truest of the people. But not one of all these associations ever contends for or embodies in itself any such high and holy heroism as the hour most imperatively demands.

Not long since, I was invited into a so named "Anti-Slavery Congregational Church." I lectured twice, to very fair congregations. But it was most apparent to me that I was wanted there (if wanted at all) for anything rather than a genuine anti-slavery purpose. A regular monthly concert of prayer is observed, but nearly every man voted for Abraham Lincoln, *under the Chicago platform and the Constitution*, to hunt fugitive slaves, hang John Browns, and preserve and prolong the Union with slaveholders. I asked them to aid our movement by a collection, to subscribe to our journals, circulate our tracts, and so promote genuine anti-slavery. No one subscribed for any papers; no one, belonging to the Church, professed any sympathy; and I am ashamed to say how many CENTS were the whole collection. One gentleman belonging to the congregation, with his characteristic liberality, gave five dollars, otherwise this mission to "*an anti-slavery Church*" would have been at our charges (as was intended it should be), and (as was not intended or expected) mainly for the benefit of a body but very little entitled to respect or regard, in any anti-slavery sense of the words. And yet they claim all credit for their profession. "But to what purpose is the multitude of their prayers?" saith the Lord. Since they have made a covenant with death, and with hell are at agreement; since they have made Abraham Lincoln the *Nimrod*, the "*mighty hunter*" under the Fugitive Slave law of 1850, and, moreover, the Federal executioner of whatever John Brown, or Lafayette, or Moses, God may send forth for the deliverance of his people, *whose hands are full of blood, if not their own?* I tell you, Mr. Editor, the salvation of this guilty nation can never come through any such gospel.

Nor can I see anything more hopeful in any of the conservative, compromising, free-and-easy associations I have named. Everywhere, West, I met them, always with the same foolish and false, temporizing, "*half a loaf better than no bread*" philosophy on their lips, and votes for Lincoln in their hands: their very "half loaf" poisoned with compromises, and stolen, at that, from the mouths of millions of God's starving, dying children in the South.

Week after week we were mobbed by these very persons, among others, till at length their own President had to skulk secretly to his own inauguration to escape a mob, and mob law has ruled him and the nation (as I told every mob it would) from that to the present hour. Not even in the organization of the three vast Territories, late in the session of Congress, did Republicans *dare name the "prohibition"* of slavery! And thus the last plank of their boasted "platform" was absolutely kicked from under them, and the Slave Power ruled supreme, as ever and always.

Can reasonable men and women longer doubt whether *half a gospel, half a truth*, and the rest, "concession and compromise," is the safest policy, the surest road to complete success?

PARKER PILLSBURY.

THE NEW AMERICAN TARIFF.—We have received—too late, we regret to say, for publication this week—a letter from HORACE GREELEY, Esq., in reply to the observations of our English correspondent upon the new American tariff. It shall appear in our next.

Some remarks on the same subject will be found in the letter of our Philadelphia correspondent this week.

THE LATE TRAGEDY AT CLEVELAND.—VI.

THE SENTENCE.

THE violation of human rights is very especially malignant and revolting when perpetrated under the cover of names hallowed and venerable. Of these, none are more significant and inspiring than *law* and *duty*. Whenever fitly employed, they are an expression of the sovereign will. THAT is always legislative and obligatory, in whatever manifestation. It is so essentially, absolutely, everlastingly. It is so in the thought and speech of mankind universally. So our fellows everywhere affirm and confess.

Of all this, bad men in high places take advantage in the perpetration of their nefarious designs. They dare not show themselves without disguise. They shrink from the thought of avowing themselves. If they should describe the objects they are pursuing and the expedients they are employing in fit terms, they know that they should fall into general contempt or abhorrence. They must at once be hissed and driven from the stage. Of this the persecutors of poor Lucy at Cleveland were well aware. These wolves durst not assail this unprotected lamb under their own proper character. *That* the multitude around them, however heedless and profligate, could not be expected to endure. Not one of the citizens of Cleveland could well be relied on to countenance open-faced and undisguised tyranny—oppression under the name and aspect of oppression. Had the principal figures in this hellish tragedy announced themselves distinctly and truly; had they proclaimed fitly the design with which their gory hands were occupied; had they boldly, stoutly said, Under cover of false and malignant legislation, notoriously empty of authority, we, in your presence, and with your coöperation, consign this our innocent and helpless sister to hopeless prostitution—send her back to the filthy den of an accursed Blue Beard whence she had fled in terror for an asylum among her mother's children in Cleveland; had they thus blurted out the grim and ghastly truth—which, as God lives, they shall, every mother's son of them, one day encounter in the Sovereign presence—their auxiliaries would have been "few and far between." They would have shrunk away from the outraged multitude, mortified and discomfited. They, therefore, like well trained knaves and long practised hypocrites, sought a refuge in the names of law and duty. To these all-hallowed, widely venerated entities they impudently and impiously appealed. One did "homage to the majesty of the Constitution" in surrendering "the finest feelings of his nature," in "vanquishing many of his strictest resolutions," in "mortifying a freeman's pride," and in "contravening," he "almost" and might *quite* have said, "a Christian's duty to his God"! This dignified confessor "*felt himself* IN DUTY *bound to surrender his unfortunate client to the demands of that* LAW, *whose tender mercies are cruelties*"! For assuming an attitude so grossly absurd, so detestably wicked, he is eulogized by another actor in this tragedy, as pursuing "a patriotic course" grateful to the eulogist. "The whole DUTY of the court," adds this open-eyed, high-minded, great-souled lawyer, "is to give force and vigor to the LAW as it is," when the venal creature and all his accomplices knew that the enactment he referred to had less substance than the thinnest shadow of legislation; that it in no way and to no extent involved authority; that all men, on whom it might be obtruded, were bound on pain of deep damnation to crush the cursed thing beneath their feet! Mr. Commissioner White—what else could be expected of a Commissioner, an office which Judas Iscariot might feel degraded to assume—appealed, too, to the "Constitution" and the "law," as if intent on aiding his shameless comrades in making all such names a "hissing and a bye-word" to outraged and indignant humanity! Marshal Johnson "read from the statutes the DUTY of" such as he, call them what you will; and, like a whining hypocrite as he was, babbled about the "most unpleasant duty" which, in this case, was "devolved upon him," which, amidst the "most unpleasant" flames of perdition, he will find to have been infinitely *other* than his duty! Thus, in the words of the indignant old prophet, "thus they snarled the matter up"!

Thus, in the name of the God of love, Lucy's own true father, the Cleveland patriots—so their profession reads—inflicted on her, in her innocence and helplessness, the most crushing injuries! With affected sympathy and mock solemnity, they* "gave sentence" that it should be as the Virginian woman-thief "required"—availing themselves, perhaps, of the ancient precedent so briefly recorded by the Evangelist! And all this professedly in the name of the God of love—Lucy's own true father. For, in appealing to *law and duty* in justifying the huge atrocity on which they rushed, they appealed to God, who is the soul and substance and source of law and duty. Wherever law is, there God is, speaking through the law. Wherever duty is, there he is urging its demands. Whatever law requires, he requires as the legislative soul. Whatever duty imposes, he imposes as the Universal Sovereign. *He* is presented in the Cleveland tragedy as the all-controlling figure in the bloody drama, commanding brothers and sisters, his own sons and daughters, "to worry and devour each other"! The actors in the devilish play, in which Lucy was the hunted game, profess to have sacrificed, all so reluctantly and tearfully, their humanity on the altar of the all-impartial Father, who bids us, at whatever expense and hazard, "rid the poor and needy out of the hand of the wicked"—"break every yoke"—"remember those in bonds as bound with them"—"love our neighbor," whoever, wherever, whatever he may be; "love our neighbor as we love ourselves." May their absurd and blasphemous professions avail them just as much exactly as did the "long prayers" of the ancient religionists, who thus sanctified the atrocious wrongs which they inflicted on the helpless, tear-drenched widow! The more flippantly they talk of law and duty, the deeper shall they sink in "damnation"!

This is not the first time that profligates and reprobates, when their iniquities involved them in embarrassment, have summoned brass enough to lift up their eyes toward heaven, and cry, some in one dialect and some in another, "*Arise and save us!*" Will not God protect his own "ministers" amidst whatever exposures their "painful duties" may involve! Have they, then, got from HIS *hand* the "bill of sale" by which he reduced Lucy to chattelhood? Let us see the commission, fresh from his throne, which requires them to heap insult and injury, mountain high, on a poor, friendless, helpless woman! Otherwise who shall forbid us to exclaim "Amen," when the "smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever"? I have something more to add.

BERIAH GREEN.

* Luke xxiii. 24.

BACK NUMBERS OF THE STANDARD.—Several friends having kindly responded to the call of Mr. Webb, of Dublin, as below, there are now wanting, as will be seen, only Seventeen numbers of the paper to make his file complete. We hope these may soon be supplied by the generous offerings of some of our readers.

Richard D. Webb, 176 Great Brunswick street, Dublin, requires the following numbers of THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD to complete a file which he keeps for the convenience of reference by any who may apply to him for that purpose. His imperfect collection having been occasionally of use in this way, he is desirous to complete it, and any of the following numbers will be thankfully received if forwarded to the care of Rev. S. May, Jr., 221 Washington street, Boston; or to the Anti-Slavery Office, 5 Beekman street, New York.

Vol. 1—Nos. 2, 10, 13.
2—Nos. 22, 23.
5—No. 21.
6—No. 7.
7—No. 14
8—No. 12.
9—Nos. 27, 35, 36.
10—No. 1.
11—No. 38.
13—No. 52.
14—No. 42.
17—No. 27.

THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY, after a very successful professional tour in Pennsylvania, have returned to New York. During the present week they have been engaged in singing in this city and vicinity. On Monday next they will commence a tour through the interior of the State, on the line of the Central Railroad, from Albany to Buffalo, giving concerts, as far as their time will allow, in places where the people desire to hear them. They need not our commendation, and will doubtless be greeted by large audiences wherever they may conclude to sing.

DECLARATION AND CONSTITUTION.—The Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has published, in clear, fair type, the Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in a form suited to general circulation. Copies may be had at this office.

DISCOURSE FOR THE TIMES.—The Rev. Theodore White will, by request, repeat, on Sunday (to-morrow) evening, in the Church of the Puritans, the discourse delivered by him in the same place last Sunday morning, upon the duties of Christians to their country in the present crisis.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the Albany Anti-Slavery Office from January 1 to April 1, 1861.

Mrs. M. Weaver, Albion, N. Y.	$1
James A. Burr, Ludlowville, N. Y.	5
Louisa Cone, Champion, "	1
Mary Hoag, Albany, "	10
Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, "	5
Friend, " "	
Mrs. C. M. Trevor, Lockport, "	5
M. C. Wright, Auburn, "	5
Lucretia Mott, Philadelphia,	1
Jacob Baker, Albany, N. Y.	1
Dr. Andrews, " "	1
Mrs. Loveridge, " "	1
David Baker, Easton, "	
Sundry persons,	2
Collections by Susan B. Anthony, at Waterloo.	
Israel Lisk,	
R. P. Mosher,	
Henry Bunnell,	1
Sarah Hunt,	5
Mary Bowditch,	2
Stephen Shear,	5
M. Coad,	2
Mary Burnett,	1
Sundry persons,	1 5
From Seneca Falls,	6 7
West Winfield, Herkimer County.	
Mrs. M. A. E. Green,	11 2
Laura Eldridge,	2 0
Sundry persons,	5 2
Brockett's Bridge.	
Thomas and Mary Cole,	8 2
Reuben Fahill,	2
Zenus and Candace Brockett,	4
J. D. Spofford,	1 0
L. D. Medkiff,	1 0
Hester Cole,	5
George Dale,	1
Sundry persons,	5
Easton, Washington County.	
G. Baker,	1 0
C. B. Dennis,	2
H. Peckham,	2
J. Taber,	5
Job Wilbur,	1 0
R. Baker,	1 0
D. and S. Baker,	1 0
C. Haviland,	5
B. Barker,	5
S. Hoag,	2
H. A. Mosher,	5
Abel Thomas,	5
Wm. Brownell,	5
W. F. Winton,	2
C. Butler,	5
Mary M. Davis,	5
Sundry persons,	7
Leonard Gibbs, Greenwich,	5 0
Union Village Meetings,	1 1
From Rochester, N. Y.	25 0

LYDIA MOTT, Treasurer.

MARRIED.

POWELL—RICE.—At Ghent, Columbia Co., N. Y., on Monday evening, April 15, by themselves, AARON M. POWELL, of Ghent, to J. ANNA RICE, of Worcester, Massachusetts.

The following is their protest, as embodied in their marriage certificate, against the unequal bearing of the statute upon the parties to a marriage contract.

"Herewith we record our united protest against the inequality and injustice of the statutes of the civil code pertaining to marriage, which assign to the wife a position of legal inferiority. The marriage contract is formed in ignorance, inequality and injustice, in the making of which one of the parties becomes at once civilly dead and legally buried. The individuality of the wife is merged in the husband. Her personal and property rights are surrendered. Against this inequality and injustice, this monstrous sacrifice of the birthright of every human soul, baptized by apostolic hands as a holy sacrament and everlasting ordinance of the living God, we do protest."

Special Notices.

THE NINTH YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS will convene at Longwood, Chester County, Pennsylvania, on FIFTH DAY (Thursday), the 6th of Sixth month (June), 1861.

This annual assemblage is held for religious communion, for mutual interchange of thought and opinion, for the perpetuation of old friendships and the formation of new; in brief, for a festival of three days of social, intellectual and spiritual fellowship and profit. The members of this Religious Society do not hold their membership by virtue of any ecclesiastical vows or bonds, or of any real or supposed unity of theological belief. Their common faith, if it were written, would be simply and only the essential principle of love to God—a love to be exhibited, not through devotion to creeds and forms, but in lives of purity and beneficence, in the recognition and defence of the equal rights of mankind, in efforts to break the chains of the oppressed, and in a firm resistance to every form of iniquity and wrong.

To all persons having such feelings, desires and aims we extend a cordial invitation to meet and cooperate with the Society.

Persons interested in the cause to which the Society of Progressive Friends is devoted, and who may be unable to attend the Yearly Meeting, are hereby assured that written communications, expressing their sympathy with the movement, or conveying the thoughts and suggestions which seem to them adapted to its objects and needs, will be gratefully received. Communications may be addressed to Oliver Johnson, No. 5 Beekman street, New York, or to Joseph A. Dugdale, Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.—The Eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention will be held in Cooper Institute, New York, Thursday, May 9th, morning and afternoon, at 10 and 7½ o'clock. Admission to morning session Free—evening session 25 cents. Wendell Phillips, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Ernestine L. Rose, Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Josephine S. Griffing, Aaron M. Powell and others, will address the Convention.

If, in the language of Emerson, "Men are what their mothers made them," the vigor and virtue of a nation must depend on the character of its women.

If we would build up a free Republic, on a firm, enduring foundation, we must have a higher, nobler type of womanhood than advancing civilization has yet produced.

If we would have a wise and just government, that shall stand the test of ages, we must secure equal political power to the women of the nation.

We invite all who are interested in the education and elevation of Woman, to aid us with their presence and their counsels.

In behalf of the National Woman's Rights Committee,

E. CADY STANTON, President.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Secretary.

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, a friend of Children, will hold a meeting for the little folks in the M. E. Church at Chatham, in Chester Co., Pa., on the first Seventh day in the Fifth month, at 2 o'clock, p.m., and a religious meeting at the same place and hour on the following day.

Advertisements.

SPLENDID APPLE ORCHARD—
FOR CASH, $5,000.
An investment that Disunion panics will not endanger, may be made in
SIXTY FIVE ACRES OF EXCELLENT LAND,
On which are a valuable MARL-PIT, 1,100 choice, thrifty, 3-year-old PEACH TREES, and 1,250 Apple Trees—comprising many choice kinds:

Yellow Bellefleur,
Red Astrachan,
Maiden's Blush,
R. I. Greening,
Newtown Pippin,
English Codling,
Black Gilliflower,
Jersey Sweeting,
Spitzenburg
Swaar,
Baldwin,
Gravenstien.

And TWENTY other Varieties.

These Trees, which are from 6 to 15 years old, have had much care and expense bestowed on them, and are thrifty and beautiful, and a good portion of them have begun to bear freely. In the hands of a skillful fruit-culturist, this property might be made very productive. The farm is well adapted to all early crops, and strawberries and other small fruit. It is in one of the most healthy and beautiful parts of Monmouth Co., N. J., only five miles from Red Bank; has a fine, commanding house site on it, and is entirely *free from mosquitoes and intermittent fevers.*

Inquire of MARCUS S. RING, 27 Park Place.

DR. WM. P. POWELL, JR., SURGEON, &c. Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, England, Licentiate in Midwifery, Dublin, Ireland, formerly Resident Surgeon to the Liverpool Southern Hospital, late Resident Surgeon to the Liverpool Eye and Ear Institute, respectfully begs leave to announce to the citizens of NEW BEDFORD and vicinity that he has returned to his native city and solicits their patronage, where he may be consulted or attend patients at his residence, 109 WILLIAM STREET, from 9 to 11 a.m., 2 to 4 and 7 to 8 p.m., and during the night.

PORTRAIT OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.—A most faithful and spirited portrait of Mr. Phillips has just been finished by Thomas M. Johnston. It is pronounced by the most intimate friends of Mr. P. the very best picture which has ever been made of him, and in every respect a complete success. The finished picture is to be drawn on stone by the best lithographer in the United States, when copies will be furnished to subscribers at One Dollar each. Address,
C. H. B[illegible],
322 Washington street, Boston.

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF A SLAVE GIRL, written by herself, and edited by L. MARIA CHILD; a work of absorbing interest, reflecting a clear light into the darkest recesses of slavery. Sold at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 5 Beekman street, New York. Price $1 00.

3,000 HUDSON RIVER ANTWERP RASPBERRY plants, at 50 cents per dozen; $1.50 per 100; $12 per 1000. 1000 NEW ROCHELLE (or LAWTON) BLACKBERRY plants, at $1 per dozen; $5 per 100; $40 per 1,000. For sale by
A. M. POWELL, Ghent, Columbia Co., N. Y.

GERRIT SMITH: RELIGION OF REASON. No. 4. THE ONE TEST OF CHARACTER. "Wherefore by their Fruits ye shall know them." Now Ready. Price Five Cents. For sale by
ROSS & TOUSEY, 121 Nassau Street, New York.

HARRINGTON.—This new novel is for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office in Albany, 15 Steuben street, LYDIA MOTT, Agent. It will be sent by mail on receipt of the retail price.

HELPER'S "IMPENDING CRISIS" of the SOUTH can be had, wholesale and retail, at the Anti-Slavery Office, 107 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

Miscellaneous Department.

A LEGEND OF ST. CHRISTOPHER.

"Carry me across!"
The Syrian heard, rose up and braced
His huge limbs to the accustomed toil:
"My child, see how the waters boil!
The night-black heavens look angry-faced;
But life is little loss.

"I'll carry thee with joy,
It needs be, safe as nestling dove;
For o'er this stream I pilgrims bring
In service to one Christ, a King
Whom I have never seen, yet love."
"I thank thee," said the boy.

Cheerful, Arprobus took
The burden on his shoulders great,
And stepped into the waves once more;
When, lo! they leaping rise and roar,
And 'neath the little child's light weight
The tottering giant shook.

"Who art thou?" cried he, wild
Struggling in middle of the ford:
"Boy as thou lookest, it seems to me
The whole world's load I bear in thee,
Yet"— "For the sake of Christ thy Lord,
Carry me," said the child.

No more Arprobus swerved,
But gained the further bank, and then
A voice cried, "Hence, *Christopheros* be!
For carrying, thou hast carried ME,
The King of angels and of men,
The Master thou hast served."

And in the moonlight blue
The saint saw—not the wandering boy,
But Him who walked upon the sea
And o'er the plains of Galilee,
'Till, filled with mystic, awful joy,
His dear Lord Christ he knew.

Oh, little is all loss,
And brief the space 'twixt shore and shore,
If thou, Lord Jesus, on us lay,
Through the deep waters of our way,
The burden that Christopheros bore—
To carry Thee across.

—*Miss Muloch—St. James's Magazine.*

LIFE ON A ALABAMA PLANTATION.

From The [London] Once a Week.

It is my eldest sister—some years older than myself—who lives on the Alabama plantation I have referred to. She married when I was a schoolboy, so that I have paid more visits to her than to my Charleston sister, who married ten years later. I have been the guest of my elder brother-in-law, D——, on three different plantations. He went the way of planters' sons when he was young—leaving home to buy land further west, and settle down with negroes, to grow cotton. Twice more he has moved westwards; but, as he has lived nine years on his present estate, I hope he may be satisfied to remain there. My sister Anna, his wife, hopes so too, but is far from confident. In a year or two it will be time for their son Madison to be beginning life for himself; and Anna says that when Madison is fairly off, to shift for himself, she shall feel more secure than she does now of not having to go into a new scene of life, and among strange neighbors. It would look more like remaining, if D—— would build the house he has been planning for years. We talked it over on my first visit; and it was mentioned in my second: but nothing is done yet; and I have my doubts whether there will be. D—— gave me an odd sort of a hint, the last time we spoke on the subject, that a loghouse is safer than a farmhouse for some people, as it does not kindle so well, nor burn so fast; and that as long as the Abolitionists are allowed to talk, a man cannot be too careful. I could not seriously suppose, at the time, that such a master could dread incendiarism at the hands of his own negroes; but I am inclined now to think that he does. It seems an insane apprehension for a man to suffer under, during the mature and vigorous period of his life (he is five-and-forty): but there is no use of contending with it. No opinion from the North has any value in this case; for a citizen from thence is either taken for an Abolitionist, or informed that none but Southern men have any knowledge of the designs of "that infernal race." So Anna must make up her mind to live in a loghouse for three parts of the year, till the great question of slavery is settled. During the three unhealthy months the family go down to Mobile, where they have a pleasant circle of friends, and, as Anna says, can refresh their memories as to how to behave in society. I do not at all agree as to their savagery. They are so hospitable that they really see a great many people in the course of their nine months' abode on the plantation; and they see them in the domestic way, which is more favorable to intercourse than any amount of mere dinner or evening visiting.

[illegible] I went, I did hope to find some [illegible] the approaches to the house, and in [illegible] features, if not in the dwelling itself. [illegible]e a great deal of money by several good cotton crops, and had bought more negroes; and it was natural to suppose that some of his gains would be applied to the removal of discomfort and ugliness. But I was cured of all such expectations before I came in sight of the house. My driver took his way among the trees, or over a knoll, crashing and plunging through the underwood, to avoid the road, which would have had to be mended before we could pass some parts of it.

I saw something of the way of mending, a little further on, where some mules had broken the fence. A white man, who looked muddy from head to foot, complexion and all, was chipping lazily at a rail; a negro was slowly turning a dibble in a hole which was to hold a stake; and two more negroes were warming their hands over the fire which was blazing on the ground. My driver pointed with his whip up the glade of the wood, and observed that the master was coming. In a moment a gentleman on a white horse came ambling down the glade, and I saw it was D——. We agreed that the fence would hardly be closed before night, at the rate the fellows were proceeding; but D—— said that would be better than having it fall to pieces next day, as it would if he hurried them. If this was really the alternative, I had nothing to say. But who was the white man actually handling tools?

Why, he was from a distance—a hungry wretch who must get bread somehow; and hungry enough he must be to work—or pretend to work—with negroes. The gentlemen round did not like his coming; D—— himself was vexed at it; but they had ascertained that the fellow was no Abolitionist; and therefore they could not send him away. Some mischief would come of it, however. It always did turn out so. If nothing worse happened, it was a bad thing for the negroes to despise a white; and they were sure to grow cockahoop when they had a white among them whom they could look down upon. What a state of society it must be in the North, D—— observed, where white men were daily at work before the eyes of the negroes! For the fiftieth time I tried to make my brother-in-law comprehend that work was no degradation in my part of the country, where it was not associated with the idea of slavery, and that therefore there was nothing for anybody to despise in the act of earning one's bread; but D—— cannot understand it at all.

He turned homeward with me, and he enjoyed, as more than once before, my exclamations at the view from the bluff half a mile from the house. The broad, brimming Alabama river ran far below, between densely wooded banks, but redeemed from a certain look of desolation by the puff of steam from a river boat which was at a landing place, taking in cotton and firewood. Down to the river, and away on the other side to near the horizon, was an expanse of forest so compact that it seemed as if an army might march on the tree-tops for miles. Far in the distance, between the forest and the sky, appeared a wavy line of blue uplands; and here and there in the nearer regions, there were clearances of some hundreds of acres, with rude paths down to the river. On our side were bluffs—two or three right and left—lifting up their limestone ledges and precipitous crests from the woods below, and affording a stretch of table land, like that we were standing on, for cultivation. D——'s plantation stretched back from the ridge above the left bank of the river, gently sloping to the south-east.

Nothing was left of the wood that could be got rid of. The house stood exposed, bare, and scorched, without any shade except such as could be had by making the verandas exceedingly wide. It looks all very pretty, it is admitted, to see a background of evergreen forest; and it sounds very tempting to go, in the hot noon, into the thickets where the ground is gay with violets, mayapple, buckeye, blue lupin, iris, and crowpoison—the fleur-de-lis of these parts; but these mosquitoes spoil everything. When one chooses one's hour for a drive among the clustering honeysuckles and the blossoming sourwood, all alive with butterflies, and the yellow jasmine, and all the combined shrubs of the garden and trees of the forest, all is charming; but it does not do to set down one's house among them. The negroes can live in thickets, and nestle under rows of Pride of India trees; but the whites would go mad with the bites and stings of insects.

So there stands the loghouse, as formerly, only with its shingled roof looking more parched and warped than ever, and the fences and gates grayer and shabbier. Anna and her young daughter Minnie are in the piazza, somewhat differently occupied. My sister has her hands dyed blue. She has been standing at a long board on trestles, cutting out woollen dresses for a score of negro women and children. D—— shows me her right hand, deeply marked with the more slaves than the negroes. Some old women are summoned to carry away the whole apparatus for to-day, and bring water and towel for the mistress's hands.

I ask whether those old women could not do that sort of work. There is no such precise fit in the garments of field hands as to require skill in dressmaking, I should think; for the clothes of all the women I see in the cotton field might fit any one person as well as another. Why cannot the house servants, some of whom seem to be always sewing, spare the lady all this cutting out?

It cannot be done, I am told. It is not the fit that is the question, but the economy of the material. There is no negro woman who can learn not to cut cloth to waste. Such is plantation doctrine; but it does not hold good everywhere; for negro girls dress very well, without extravagance, in some places where they have to cut out and make their own dresses.

Minnie, meantime, has been collecting her wits, carried off skyhigh by the book she has in her hand. Reclining in a corner of the wide sofa on the other side of the piazza, she has been lost in the witchery of some native magazine poetry, or the turns of a romantic story. The child has grown much, and is almost a woman—and a very pretty one. We rarely see in the North so healthy and blooming a form and complexion as among those Southern girls who live almost constantly in the open air. This seems to do them more good than the summer heat and want of exercise do them harm. When Minnie was once so far recalled to the realities of life as to see who we were, she was so affectionate and delighted as to enable me to recognize in her the old playfellow I had been longing to greet.

"How old we are growing!" said I, when she went in to dress for dinner. "That child looks almost as old as her mother was when she married."

"Oh! don't talk of marrying!" exclaimed Anna. "I can't bear to think of it."

"Well, well! there is plenty of time yet," said I. "She is hardly sixteen, I think."

"Yet we have to be thinking about it, whether we will or no," said D——. "We have had some little unpleasantness with two or three of our friends lately, because we cannot give her away in a hurry, and so early."

"My little Minnie going to marry!" I exclaimed, in amazement and wonder.

"I fear it must be before long," her mother said. "But there is nothing in view at the moment. We have persuaded her to wait awhile, and we hope it may be some time before any youth appears who can at all correspond with her requirements; and she must have a perfect Bayard, with a good deal of the Apollo or Byron, and a likeness to the Admirable Crichton."

"Yes, I hope she is safe in that way," observed D——. "She is so romantic that the man does not exist—"

"I am afraid that is a false security," said I. "What delights romantic people is not what they find, but what they make; not what they actually see, but what they believe. Minnie will probably see a Bayard and all the rest in some neighboring youth, because the image occupies her eye."

"That is my fear," Anna replied. "I wish I were sure of her till her twentieth birthday. But the girls have such trains of suitors here."

This I knew to be true, from the number of young men who leave the cities and come down from the North, to seek their fortunes on the virgin soil of the newer cotton States.

The governesses, who are obtained from New England, and scattered among the planters' houses, are usually too old to marry in a region where marriage takes place much too early. Thus, while the maidens of New England are maintaining themselves in great numbers and in various ways, the planters' daughters are married almost before they have ceased to be children. Each mother hopes and purposes to extend the period of youthful freedom and improvement in the case of her own girls; and every mother is disappointed when the time comes.

"And what of Madison?" I asked. "What sort of a fellow shall I find him, I wonder."

Anna looked proud. D—— laughed.

"Madison will soon show you his quality," said he.

"Yes," said Anna, "you will see at once the turn that *he* takes."

"So he is to be a character, is he?" I inquired.

"Why, yes," replied D——. "Our young men are ambitious, and almost every one has some particular notion of distinguishing himself. It may not be amiss. It may give them a purpose. It makes them show character early."

"So much character! So much character!" exclaimed my sister, complacently.

"Plenty of peculiarity," I thought, when Madison came in to dinner, with his glass in his eye, a solemn demeanor, and a condescending notice of me, his uncle. I soon gathered from his oracular words, that the boy had discovered the Perpetual Motion, and considered himself already separated from the common herd of mankind. He had travelled to the North—even to Harvard University—to communicate his discovery to the Professor of Natural Philosophy there; and he had returned, more than ever satisfied with his achievement. The Professor being ill, he had seen the Professor's lady. Sounding her about the probability of a candid hearing from the great man, he had obtained the reply, kind but jocose, that the Professor would no doubt be happy to attend to what he had to propose, on any subject, she might say, except perhaps Perpetual Motion, on which he had so many applications, and had suffered so much waste of time. Madison here rose, and made a flourishing bow, and turned homeward to provide for communicating his discovery to the world, without hindrance from old dons, ignorant, envious, and obstructive.

When we rose from table, Madison kept his seat, preaching about perpetual motion. To my surprise, D—— shut the door behind Anna and the children, and sat down again. When the lad had finished his lecture, he withdrew to his studies, and D—— said to me,

"What would you do with such a lad as that?"

"That depends on what his notions are worth."

"I don't put any confidence in them, myself; but if he really has a turn for study—"

"Just so. Only let it *be* study. Don't keep him there, puffing himself up with the fancy of being a philosopher. Send him to college. Why not send him to Harvard, where he would be near us? He would find his level there, and discover that our Professors may possibly know more than he does."

"Ah! that is exactly what can't be done," replied D——. "It is a disadvantage for life to a man here to have been to a Northern college. He never gets over the suspicion of being tainted with bad opinions on the negro question."

"Send him to a Southern college, then. They do not stand so high as Harvard and New York; but probably they can teach Madison something."

"No doubt; and it would be a great blessing, I'm sure, to us all. But the students of our Southern colleges are apt to be so intemperate in politics that more and more parents are unwilling to send their sons there. A few weeks ago, these 'sons of chivalry' learned that a sister of Mrs. Beecher Stowe was staying in one of the Professors' houses; and they serenaded her with marrow bones and cleavers, and insulting songs."

"Is it possible?"

"Yes; that is their notion of patriotism; and I should not exactly like Madison to take that turn, though I hope he will do his duty by his State the first time the North goes too far."

The end of the matter was that no decision seemed feasible, and I saw plainly that Madison would go on with "his studies," as his mother said, but as I should have put it with "his dreams," till some strong reality should bring out something more natural than was to be seen at present. He must be a planter, D—— said. His parents would not hear of the Church for him. They owned that, while entirely convinced that slavery was a Scriptural institution, they did not like to see clergymen turning slaveowners, setting an overseer over their negroes, and themselves watching the overseer. It was better that their clergy should come from the North, fresh to the institution. They could be more free than a Southern man to board out, or hire negroes for house service, as an alternative to having a plantation of their own. They usually fell into this last way of life by marriage or otherwise; but it did not quite suit D——'s notions of a clergyman's position. He could see no way for Madison but beginning life on cotton land, in the usual way: and whatever fancies the lads might have while in their teens, they always did come round to this at last, unless they early entered the army or navy.

It seemed to me that one part of education might have been better attended to, both in my nieces' and nephews' case; that of assisting their parents in their every-day business, and preventing some of the discomforts which are always occurring where slaves are left to themselves for an hour. On the first morning, for instance, we were all roused unconscionably early. While dressing, I supposed my watch must have stopped for an hour and a half in the night; and when we met at the breakfast table it appeared that others had supposed the same. It was then half-past six; but the hot waffles, buckwheat cakes, eggs and beefsteak, hominy and broiled ham, were on the table, as if it was the proper eight o'clock. The cook had been too lazy to ask the "body servants" to inquire the time, and had served breakfast by guess. The family laughed; but it seemed to me that Minnie might undertake to announce the hour to the servants, if it was really impossible to trust them with the care of a kitchen clock. I found, however, that no confi-

After breakfast, again, when I went with Anna on her round of morning duties, it seemed to me that there were various things that son and daughter might have seen to. In the negro quarter there was a sick man cowering over the fire, with nobody to attend to him. His wife was amusing herself in the sun, and had given him no breakfast. We had to stay till we saw him properly fed by his sulky wife. In another cabin there was a wretched baby, all skin and bone, moaning on a mat; and the mother was absent in that case, too. My sister observed that Diana would be the death of her baby, by such neglect. There was no making her attend to her own child.

"Diana!" said I. "Was not that the name of the woman who nursed you so admirably through your fever? But it is not the same woman, of course."

"The same," my sister replied. "You will constantly find among these people that they nurse any white person with great ostentation, while they will not trouble themselves to wait on husband or child. I don't mean that it is so with all. The number of runaways shows that women will dare everything to meet a husband or free a child; but those that we call contented negroes behave like Diana, or like that exemplary wife that we stood over till she fed her husband."

It struck me that here was something for Minnie to do; and so I thought when the old woman who collected and took care of the infants while the mothers were in the field had a score of complaints and petitions to make about all manner of unreasonable things; and when Flora and Bet, Juliet and Sal, waylaid us with handfuls of eggs or a fowl which the mistress was expected to buy. I supposed she had supplied the cocks and hens and the food, and would hardly, therefore, pay for the eggs and the chickens; but she said it was expected. Her only doubt was as to whether these really came from the proper poultry yard. She was always afraid they might be stolen from a neighbor. Her husband did all he could to keep the people at home at night; but he was aware that they could and did get out and visit other plantations; and when there were [illegible] whites in the neighborhood there was seld[illegible] in which some robbery did not take place.

Just at that moment we met D—— co[illegible] the stables. He never looks otherwise [illegible] good humored; but his wife divined that something was wrong. As she looked in his face, he said aloud that he had found the ice-house door standing wide, and the ice melting as fast as it could this warm morning; and if Tippoo did not mind his duty better, it would be necessary to punish him. Still my sister led the way to a spot where we could speak in private; and there, leaning over the fence, as if admiring the prospect, we heard what had happened. D——'s saddle and bridle had disappeared in the night—a handsome saddle; but that was not the worst of it. He was to be compelled to ride under difficulties, or not at all. Moreover, the best part of the blacksmith's tools were gone. For some weeks there had been petty thefts of eggs, vegetables, bacon, fodder, and articles of dress; now a hat, now a pair of boots, or a razor and strop. D—— or Anna looked over the knives every night, and locked them up. I observed that both assumed at once that the white laborer I had seen, or some other neighbor of the same class, must be at the bottom of these thefts. The inconvenience was becoming so serious that something must be done. Anna asked her husband which of the people he would have flogged to obtain a confession. D—— replied that he wished he could get to the bottom of it in some other way. There was so little satisfaction in what was confessed by the people. Any one of them would say it was A. who set him on to steal, or B., or C., or the mistress, or the devil, or the President, according to the supposed suspicion of the master. This was true, Anna said; but something must be done—some example must be made. We must consult the overseer.

To the overseer's house we went, followed by many eyes. But it was natural that I should wish to see the place; and, besides, the man was not at home. The cottage was like what it used to be, but more bare, ugly, and comfortless. A few fowls were strutting about within the zigzag pole fence; the piazza was dirty, and had two broken chairs in it. There was fishing tackle against the wall, and a worn-out rifle over the mantelpiece. This was for show, the serviceable arms being out of sight. There was a shelf of books and a medicine chest, and a chair and bare table, and that was all. We had hardly looked round us when the overseer came in from the field. He was as full of wrath against the thieves as could be desired, I remember; but that is nearly all I can recall, for his talk was as full of oaths as Minnie's was of sighs and raptures, or Madison's of technical terms. I always thought that D——'s habit of swearing was something out of all ordinary measu[illegible] it was moderate and gentlemanly in compari[illegible] his overseer's. Of course I omit this characte[illegible] citing their conversation. The overseer's info[illegible] amounted to little. He told of another theft [illegible] was certain that three or four of the negroes whom he mentioned had been on foot all night, by their laziness and their appearance this morning, and intended to flog them if they did not confess before the day was out. Anna walked away out of earshot at this moment. She "makes it a principle not to know what negroes are to be whipped, or when, or where. It could do no good; and if her feelings were excited it might change her manner toward those particular negroes, or perhaps toward them all."

We followed her when all was said; and as we overtook her, the overseer was telling D—— that the driver of the nearest stage coach had been "hit" that morning; not very seriously, but a great quarrel would come of it.

"Shot," my sister exclaimed, in answer to my look of inquiry.

"A man shot!" I exclaimed.

"You look as if you had never heard of such a thing before," said D——. And the overseer eyed me with evident contempt.

"There never was anything like this country for quarrels," exclaimed my sister, in a tone of annoyance. "Nay, my dear," said she to her husband, who would have checked her, "you know we were looking back the other day through the nine years we have lived here, and we found"—and here she turned to me—"that the attempts to kill somebody or other have been, on an average, four a week for the whole nine years."

"Is it possible?" I exclaimed. "And do the whites kill the most blacks, or the reverse?"

"Oh! it has nothing to do with the negroes at all," Anna replied. "That is, I mean that I am speaking of white gentlemen attacking one another."

"Gentlemen!" I involuntarily exclaimed.

"You should be aware, sir," said the overseer, in a singularly disagreeable way, "that we are all gentlemen here. We have no white laborers, except when you send us a scamp here and there from the North."

As I took no notice, feeling no call to teach the overseer that brawling and manslaughter are not signs of good breeding, Anna went on to tell me that a neighboring clergyman had lately excited a strong sensation by preaching from the Sixth Commandment, and in the course of his sermon giving the statistics of manslaughter in Alabama for the last ten years, in comparison with that of New and Old England. The facts were so extraordinary that the preacher had been requested to publish his sermon; but when it was half through the press he had been so threatened that he was obliged to stop. The overse[illegible] out that this was all right; and even D—— [illegible] that it was injudicious to bring accusati[illegible] a state of society which the pastor did [illegible] understand. Anna shook her head, and said no more.

The fields were worth visiting that fine spring day. The field hands were hideous, especially the women, with their scanty, dingy, coarse dresses, their floundering gait, and their vacant countenances streaming with perspiration. The ridges left by the plough were being converted into little mounds by hand, and the seed was already dropped into some of the holes. Elsewhere there were young cotton plants to be kept clean from weeds; and we also saw some corn growing within another fence. D—— differs from his neighbors in choosing to grow more food than they do, saying that he may make the less money by that part of his land, but that he gains in security. Recent events have reminded me of this, and I am hoping that he may have food enough within his own boundary to save him and his people from the alarm of famine in case of Mobile being blockaded. The young cotton plants, of the most vivid green, were flourishing when I last saw them, each one with a handful of cotton seed about its stem as manure.

The sun was getting high, and we turned homeward, while the overseer resumed his watch.

Minnie was absorbed in writing, though the younger children seemed to me to need some other supervision than that of their negro nurse. She roused herself when the cake and wine appeared, and was willing to take a drive in the afternoon—the drive promising charms both of nature and friendship. In plain words, we were to go and see a pretty little prairie, five miles off, and to make two or three calls on our way home.

Two gentlemen dropped in, and stayed to dinner at two. I could have fancied this a continuation of my last visit, but for the growth of the young people. There was the old story of indifferent soup, roast turkey (rather skinny), and ham (excellent); and, of course, a salad to be dressed with the gravy of the ham—a real hit in the eating way, in my opinion. There was a boiled fowl set down in one odd place, and a tongue in another; a lump of pork, stewed or somehow disguised; a vast variety of pickles, and dozen West India preserves; almonds and raisins, nuts of various kinds, and vast blocks of ice cream, of two or three sorts. Wine, cider, and a bottle of ale, for my special indulgence, were provided; but the main consumption was of claret.

After dinner, a retreat to the piazza was a matter of course; and there Minnie's admirers were wont to make the best of their time by drawing her apart, getting her to sing, or walking to and fro in the shade, whispering poetry or jokes. The lawyer was thus occupied this afternoon, while we were enjoying our cigars, and Anna amusing the children, when a messenger came on a heated and panting horse. The lawyer was wanted to take a deposition and make a will, Mr. Tr—— having been shot in the back as he was entering his own gate. Nobody was surprised. This was one of the remote consequences of a duel fought in the preceding year, which was presided over by the Governor of the State. When I expressed my surprise, I was told that there was scarcely an official person in the State, from the Governor to the humblest postman or custom-house servant, who had not fought, or been shot or stabbed without opportunity to fight. The lawyer himself had been stabbed in the back while looking over his newspaper in the reading-room. Lawyer as he was, he had not followed up the perpetrator. "It was considered best to let the matter drop." On hearing this, I settled in my own mind that he would not succeed with the romantic Minnie. She who wanted a Bayard would not accept a man who lived in a society where he could be stabbed in the back in a defenseless moment, and then be induced to let the thing pass. They certainly are an odd sort of "chivalry" in that region. In other States than South Carolina the citizens of whole towns and districts extolled Preston Brooks as a brave man for nearly killing another unarmed and unsuspecting man in the Senate Chamber. They presented him with testimonials, instead of sending him to Coventry (as you English say) as a traitor and a coward.

The carriage appeared, and the saddle-horses. M[illegible] her brother rode with their father, and [illegible] I took charge of all the other children [illegible]e. She never ventures to leave them at [illegible] her for so long as an afternoon drive [illegible]isit. Every one of her children has been born on the plantation, because she can, in that airy place, have them with her all day long. Bad as this is for her at such a time, as depriving her of all quiet and rest in the day time, it is better, she says, than being in a perpetual fever lest some little one should be dropped into the fire, or out of the window, by the negro nurse. During this drive, I ventured to suggest that Minnie might spare her mother much fatigue and some cares; but I was not allowed to dwell upon it. It was a thing that no mother could think of. The poor child would have little enough time for her own pursuits and pleasures. She would be steeped to the lips in family cares before she was twenty, and never again be free; and not one day of her period of liberty and ease should be cut off. I saw there was no use in urging the matter, even as a champion of Minnie herself.

We traversed the pretty little prairie, and I could fill pages with mere notices of the beautiful things we passed in the woods and by the river side; but a spectacle which we encountered on our return put everything else out of my head at the time.

Among the calls we made was one for which I ought to have been prepared. The gentleman of the house showed the usual courtesy and good humor, but not the gayety of manner which most strikes a stranger in that part of the country. His lady was well and even gayly dressed, and was surrounded by evidences of good pursuits—books in abundance, music, and some botanical collections of real value. She was composed in manner, kind and courteous: but there was an expression in her eyes which I could not meet a second time. I avoided her eyes in conversation as if I were conscious of some shame or perplexity. As soon as we were in the carriage, I inquired if any particular story belonged to that house.

"Yes, indeed," my sister whispered. "The twin children—the only children—had been poisoned by their black nurse, six years ago. Nothing more was known than that they had died within a week of each other, unquestionably from poison, which must have been given by the nurse; and, indeed, she did not deny it. She bore some grudge against her master, it was thought; but she herself said she wanted to die, but thought she would do something particular first."

"She was hanged, of course?" said I.

"Why, no," replied Anna. "There were reasons—or feelings, perhaps—in the way of that. But it was also feared that the execution would make a great deal of talk among the negroes in the neighborhood; and parents of young children were against it. It [illegible] safest to sell her to a distance, into [illegible]

[illegible]" I exclaimed. "Sell her to go and [illegible]dy else!"

"[illegible] should hope not," said Anna, reflectively. "It is said, I know, that poisoners cannot stop: but this was so peculiar a case. . . . . Besides, they would make a field hand of her."

"And has that gentleman pocketed the value of the woman who murdered his children? Are his wife's luxuries bought with that money?"

"He had twelve hundred dollars for her," replied Anna. "It was a good deal for a field hand; but she was a valuable servant, and ——"

"Exceedingly so," I observed.

"You know what I mean," said Anna. "But it is a sad story—a very sad story; and you must not suppose such things happen often."

"Only whenever I happen to go in the South," I replied. "In every family there is some capital negro to boast of; and in every neighborhood there is some tragedy to be whispered which harrows up the souls of people who do not live among horrors."

"Don't you suppose our souls are harrowed too?" asked Anna, with quivering lips.

More than once during that visit I had reason to know why the negroes were sent to their quarter for the night so early and so regularly. Two or three of them, who preferred sleeping in the passages or offices, were routed out, and sent to their own cabins; but we never felt sure that some one had not taken his own way and remained. Certain visitors, therefore, who come when all the lights were out in the negro quarter, tapped at the window, instead of applying at the door. D—— instantly let them in. They were members of the permanent Vigilance Committee, and they came to tell whatever they had learned of the suspicious mean whites in the neighborhood, and of the behavior of the negroes on the various plantations. D—— was informed that his people were too much in the habit of being out in the woods all night. D—— was aware of this. He had gone himself to the prayer-meeting in the swamp to judge for himself of its effects: he had at length forbidden his negroes to go, and had used all means, even to very severe punishment, to keep them at home. He knew he had been baffled, and was thinking of changing his overseer; but the doubt was whether he would ever get a better. He would really be obliged to the Committee if they would advise him how to proceed. They were rather stiff about this, and peremptory about the requirements of the public safety; but they softened after a course of brandy and water, and when the conversation turned on a bookseller at Mobile who had been detected in har[illegible] in his store, not only an unmutilated copy of [illegible]'s Poems, but a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin, [illegible]he absurdly pleaded had been ordered by a [illegible]r, and was to have been forwarded to the [illegible]aser the next morning. All present (except myself, and I said nothing) agreed as to the necessity of getting rid of so dangerous a resident; and, indeed, he was already shipped off for the North ("the d—d North"), whence he came. His family were with him; and his property—why, he was obliged to leave his stock and furniture behind, and everything in confusion. Perhaps they would sell pretty well; and if not, it served him right, for criminal carelessness or worse.

There have been graver alarms since those days, though the time I have spoken of was not very remote. Whether the announced conspiracy in 1856 was real or imaginary, the effects were much the same. No one knew whom to trust; and every citizen and every slave was at the mercy of any malignant informer. D——'s property suffered much. Several of his negroes—of whom to this hour he thinks well—were hanged or flogged to death. They confessed nothing, or manifest nonsense; and he believes they knew nothing of any conspiracy, and were guilty of nothing more than the ordinary aspirations of their class. He sacrificed much in payments to save others—in bribes, in fact. I wish the present crisis may not ruin him utterly. He will not himself fly from the scene, nor will Madison; and Anna will not leave them, if she can send the younger children to us, by ship or rail. The oddest change is in Madison, by all accounts. On the first rousing alarm about the South being driven into opposition at Washington, and about the credit and duration of "the peculiar institution," the Southern spirit came out full and strong, extinguishing the pedant in the planter. Instead of preaching about perpetual motion, Madison now exemplifies it, "pacing" (on the planter's ambling steed) all over the country by day, and patrolling by night, and being the most vigilant member of the local Vigilance Committee. He swears like—like a Southern man, for no "trooper" ever exceeded our Southern Senators in Washington to say nothing of meaner men further South—in the strength and frequency of oaths. D—— fears the lad may have caught the trick from him; but he has the disease

Minnie has turned out a heroine, after so many dreams of being one. As wife, daughter, and mother, she is brave as Bayard, and tender as any one of her dearly-loved poets. She did not marry the lawyer (I knew she would not), but a young planter, whose establishment she rules as if she were a born queen. I wish I could foresee what the destiny of these dear relatives of mine is to be. It is a dark scene, and a darker prospect. All that we really know is, that if we are to meet again, they must come to me and mine. We cannot go to them without plunging them into suspicion, as well as ourselves into extreme danger. Indeed, the way of ingress is barred. I daily dread to hear that egress is no longer permitted. It is no light fate to await in Alabama the issue of a revolution begun in passion, and sure to end in humiliation or worse.

A Son of the Pilgrims.

AN OLD MAN'S MUSINGS.

He dwelt in solitude; his brain grew rife
With thoughts of ancient years, which came to him
Old, old traditions, cobweb'd, faint and dim,
As from another life.

What is the past but a tradition—far,
Far and half hidden in deep memory's cell?
What are the thoughts which used to rise and swell,
But banners stained in war?

Stained in the many conflicts from their birth,
Losing their lustre in the course of time:
We deemed in youth they'd rise to height sublime,
We see them fall to earth.

Oh, racking thought! the highest genius lent
But makes the man to suffering more prone,
That which he deems his greatest good, alone
Brings its own punishment.

For knowledge yearns for knowledge, till desire
Becomes a passion, but the straining mind
Within its body prison all confined,
Finds it can rise no higher.

Is this what I have lived for, but to know
My past *a night filled full of idle dreams*,
Vague visions, fancy flittings, paltry schemes,
The sum of all below?

Thus mused an old man till the morning light
Banished the darkness: with the rising sun
There came a voice, "Thy life is but begun
If thou wilt act aright.

"Old as thou art, and though earth's shadows close
Around thee now, yet may a morn be nigh,
Another sun rise in a nobler sky,
E'en as but now *I* rose.

"Then each desire, each thought, however grand,
Shall find its full expansion, if whilst here
Thou strivest to the light which full and clear
Gleams from that other land."

A LESSON FROM THE ANCIENTS.

The following curious narrative from Herodotus (lib. I, cap. 157) is very applicable to the present state of things in America, in reference to the claim set up for the fugitive slaves.

"Pactyas, having heard that the army which had marched against him was close at hand, in consternation fled for refuge to Cumæ. Magares, therefore, dispatched messengers to Cumæ, commanding them to deliver up Pactyas; but the Cumæans, after deliberation, decided on making reference to the god in Branchidæ—for there was an oracle there, established of old time, which all the Ionians and Æolians were in the habit of consulting. (Now this place is in Milesia, northward of the haven Panormus.) The Cumæans, then, having sent deputies to Branchidæ, asked what they should do about Pactyas, so as to please the gods. To this question of theirs, the response of the oracle was, 'To give up Pactyas to the Persians.' When the Cumæans heard this repeated, they eagerly set themselves to deliver him up; but though the multitude was eagerly set upon this, Aristodicus, the son of Heraclides, discrediting the oracle, or thinking that the deputies were not telling the truth, prevented the Cumæans from doing this thing, until, at least, other deputies should go to put the question about Pactyas a second time, and Aristodicus was one of them. On their arrival at Branchidæ, Aristodicus, in the name of all, consulted the god, submitting the question in these terms: 'O king, there came to us a suppliant, Pactyas, the Lydian, fleeing from a violent death at the hands of the Persians, and they demand him from us (for torture), requiring us to deliver him up; and we, though affrighted by the power of the Persians, have not hitherto dared to give him up until it be expressly declared to us by thee what we should do.' On these words, he submitted the question, and the god again gave the same answer, commanding them to give up Pactyas to the Persians. Thereupon, Aristodicus, of forethought, acted in this manner. Walking round about the temple, he drove out the sparrows and all the other kinds of birds which had built their nests in the temple; and while he was doing this, it is said that a voice issued from the innermost shrine, addressing Aristodicus, and in these words: 'Most impious of men, how darest thou to do these things? Tearest thou my suppliants out of the temple?' And Aristodicus, without being at a loss for a moment, thereupon said: 'O king, dost thou flee to the rescue of thy suppliants, and at the same time command the Cumæans to give up this suppliant?' And that he (the god) again replied in these words: 'Yes, I do command it, in order that, having done the impious deed, ye might the sooner be destroyed, so as never more to come to the oracle about the giving up of suppliants.'"

INTERESTS, REAL AND SUPPOSED.

A metropolitan journalist, adverting to Louis Napoleon's speech to his Legislature, on the 4th of February, in which his Imperial Majesty talked of his recent doings as designed for the "interests of France," and crowned by "the inexorable logic of facts," proceeds to write as follows:

"The Emperor may yet discover, when it is too late to retrace his steps, that he has overlooked or despised higher interests than those of which he is the worshipper, and that there is an inexorable 'logic of facts' to which he has paid no regard. We wish he would turn his mind to the study of history. He would there discover that justice, and truth, and honor are the weightiest interests of the nations of the earth; and that avarice, revenge, and ambition dig the graves and weave the shrouds of peoples otherwise prosperous and strong. National existence ought not to be preferred to honor. National conscience is nobler than material wealth. Glory is lost when justice is violated, or goodness persecuted, or wrong inflicted. Athens sunk into a village, Carthage buried in the sands, Babylon represented by a few molten bricks, Egypt perpetuated in its gigantic pyramidal tombs, Venice with its palatial steps covered by the sea weeds—Naples, and Rome, and Vienna, all speak one 'inexorable fact,' that the vital element of national greatness is moral, not material; and that every attempt to reverse this great law has recoiled on the experimentalist in ruin and remorse. The mark of decadence is visible where many trumpets once sounded forth prophecies of immortality. Names that shook the world are forgotten. Genoa was once a powerful and wealthy republic; it is now a memory, and little more. The free cities of Flanders are cities of the dead. The phalanx of the Macedonian, the legions of Rome, the guards of Napoleon, did nothing to perpetuate, and much to overturn the empires to which they belonged. The foundations of empires are composed of better and more lasting materials. Prosperity and progress are developed under the shadow of a throne on which other and sublimer interests are thought of. It would be well did our Imperial ally see these 'interests of France,' and accept 'this inexorable logic of facts.'"

As we consider these sentences worthy to be written in letters of gold, or incised in marble, and put up in the most public places of the world, it would be unjust to conceal that they are from the weekly paper, entitled *The London Review.*

Scotch Parochial Wit.—Alexander M'Lachlan, a beadle in the parish of Blairgowrie, had contracted a habit of tippling, which, though it did not wholly unfit him for his duties, had become a matter of considerable scandal. Rev. Mr. Johnstone, the incumbent, had resolved to reprove him on the first suitable opportunity. A meeting of the kirk session was to be held on a week-day at twelve o'clock. The minister and the beadle were in the session house together before any of the elders had arrived. The beadle was flushed and excited, and the minister deemed the occasion peculiarly fitting for the administration of reproof. "I much fear, Saunders," began the minister, "that the bottle has become"——"Ay, sir," broke in the unperturbed official, "I was just gaun to observe, that there was a smell of drink amang's!"—"How is it, John," said a clergyman to his church officer, "that you never go a message for me anywhere in the parish but you contrive to take too much spirits? People don't offer me spirits when I'm making visits in the parish." "Weel, sir," said John, "I canna precisely explain it, unless on the supposition that I'm a wee mair popular wi' some o' the folks."

Sir Charles Lyell is rewriting his famous work on the principles of geology, in so far as it relates to superficial deposits. The new edition, to be published shortly, will contain a complete *resume* of the facts connected with the discovery of instruments of human manufacture and human remains in these deposits, and a full discussion of the startling theory which these discoveries have led many geol[illegible]ists to adopt, namely, that man and man[illegible] lived contempora-neously before the formation of the drift deposits. Sir Charles has in his possession a human skull of a very Darwinian look, which was dug up along with

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